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ARTICLE I.

THE INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

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THE INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY WRITINGS. By EDMUND CALAMY, D. D. London, 1710.

DIVINE INSPIRATION. By Dr. HENDERSON. London, 1836.

THE INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By ROBERT HALDANE, Esq., of Scotland. Boston, 1840.

THE PLÉNARY INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By S. R. L. GAUSSEN, Professor of Theology in Geneva. New York, 1842.

THE word *inspiration* is sometimes used to denote the excitement and action of a fervent imagination in the poet or orator. But even in this case, there is generally a reference to some supposed divine influence, to which that excited action is owing. It is once used in Scripture to denote that divine agency by which man is endued with the faculties of an intelligent being, when it is said, ("the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding.") But the inspiration now to be considered is that which belonged to those who wrote the Scriptures, and which is particularly spoken of in 2 Tim. 3: 16, and in 2 Pet. 1: 21. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." These passages related

specially to the Old Testament. But there is at least equal reason to predicate divine inspiration of the New Testament.

The definition which Dr. Knapp gives of inspiration, is the one we shall adopt. He says, "It may be best defined, according to the representations of the Scriptures themselves, as *an extraordinary divine agency upon teachers, while giving instruction, whether oral or written, by which they were taught what and how they should write or speak.*" Or we may say, more briefly, that the sacred penmen were completely under the direction of the Holy Spirit, or, that they wrote under a plenary inspiration. Dr. Calamy's definition agrees substantially with that of Dr. Knapp.

To prove that the Scriptures are divinely inspired, we might with propriety refer to the excellence of the doctrines, precepts and promises, and other instructions, which they contain; to the simplicity and majesty of their style; to the agreement of the different parts, and the scope of the whole; especially to the full discovery they make of man's fallen and ruined state, and the way of salvation through a Redeemer; together with their power to enlighten and sanctify the heart, and the accompanying witness of the Spirit in believers. These are circumstances of real importance, and the discerning advocates of inspiration have not overlooked them. But the more direct and conclusive evidence that the Scriptures were divinely inspired, is found in *the testimony of the writers themselves*. And as the writers did, by working miracles, and in other ways, sufficiently authenticate their divine commission, and establish their authority and infallibility, as teachers of divine truth, their testimony, in regard to their own inspiration, is entitled to our full confidence. For who can doubt, that they were as competent to judge, and as much disposed to speak the truth, on this subject, as on any other? If, then, we admit their divine commission and authority, why should we not rely upon the plain testimony which they give concerning the divine assistance afforded them in their work? To reject their testimony in this case, would be to impeach their veracity, and thus to take away the foundation of the Christian religion. And it is well known, that those who deny the justice of the claim which they set up to divine inspiration, do, in fact, give up the infallible truth and authority of the Scriptures, and adopt the principles of deism.

It is, then, of the first importance to inquire, what representations are made by the prophets, and by Christ and his apostles, respecting the inspiration and the consequent authority of the sacred Scriptures.

The prophets generally professed to speak *the word of God*. What they taught was introduced and confirmed by a "thus saith the Lord," or, "the Lord spake to me, saying." And, in one way or another, they gave clear proof, that they were divinely commissioned, and spoke in the name of God, or, as it is expressed in the New Testament, that *God spake by them*. 2

But the strongest and most satisfactory proof of the inspiration and divine authority of the Old Testament writings, is found in the testimony of Christ and the apostles.

The Lord Jesus Christ possessed the Spirit of wisdom without measure, and came to bear witness to the truth. His works proved that he was what he declared himself to be, the Messiah, the great Prophet, the infallible Teacher. The faith which rests on him, rests on a rock. As soon, then, as we learn how *he* regarded the Scriptures, we have reached the end of our inquiries. His word is truth. Now every one who carefully attends to the four Gospels, will find that Christ every where spoke of that collection of writings called the Scripture, as *the word of God*; that he regarded the whole in this light; that he treated the Scripture, and every part of it, as infallibly true, and as clothed with divine authority,—thus distinguishing it from every mere human production. Nothing written by man can be entitled to the respect which Christ showed to the Scriptures. This, to all Christians, is direct and incontrovertible evidence of the divine origin of the Scriptures, and is, by itself, perfectly conclusive. 3

But there is clear concurrent evidence, and evidence still more specific, in the writings of the apostles. In two texts, in particular, divine inspiration is positively asserted. In the first (2 Tim. 3: 16), Paul lays it down as the characteristic of "*all Scripture*," that it "*is given by inspiration of God*," θεόπνευστος, divinely inspired; and from this results its profitableness. Some writers think that the passage should be rendered thus: *All divinely inspired Scripture, or, all Scripture, being divinely inspired, is profitable*. According to the common rendering, inspiration is predicated of all Scripture. 4

According to the other, it is pre-supposed, as the attribute of the subject. But this rendering is liable to insuperable objections. For *θεόπνευστος* and *ωφέλιμος* are connected by the conjunction *καί*, and must both be predicates, if either of them is. And unless one of them is a predicate, there is no complete sentence. Henderson remarks, that the mode of construction referred to "is at variance with a common rule of Greek syntax, which requires, that when two adjectives are closely joined, as *θεόπνευστος* and *ωφέλιμος* here are, if there be an ellipsis of the substantive verb *ἔστι*, this verb must be supplied after the former of the two, and regarded as repeated after the latter. Now there exists precisely such an ellipsis in the case before us; and as there is nothing in the context which would lead to any exception to the rule, we are bound to yield to its force." And he adds, that "the evidence in favor of the common rendering, derived from the Fathers, and almost all the versions, is most decided." It cannot for a moment be admitted, that the apostle meant to signify, that divine inspiration belongs to a part of Scripture, but not to the whole; or that he meant, as Semler supposes, to furnish a criterion by which to judge whether any work is inspired or not, namely, its *utility*. "That author proceeds fearlessly to apply this criterion to the books of the Old Testament, and to lop off eight of them, as not possessing the requisite marks of legitimacy. Most of the German divines adopt Semler's hypothesis." But it is very manifest, that such a sense is not by any means suggested by the passage itself, and that it is utterly precluded by other parts of the New Testament. For neither Christ, nor any one of his apostles, ever intimates a distinction between some parts of Scripture, which are inspired, and other parts, which are not inspired. The doctrine which is plainly asserted in the text under consideration, and which is fully sustained by the current language of the New Testament, is, that *all the writings denominated the Scriptures, are divinely inspired*.

The other text (2 Pet. 1: 21), teaches, that "Prophecy came not by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." This passage, which the apostle Peter applied particularly to the subject of which he was speaking, may be considered as explanatory of what is intended by inspiration. For to say that all Scripture is divinely inspired, and that men of God wrote it as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, is one and the same thing.

The various texts in which Christ and the apostles speak of Scripture as *the word of God*, and as invested with authority to decide all questions of truth and duty, fully correspond with the texts above considered.

From this view of the subject, it follows, that the attempt, which has been made by a certain class of writers, to account for the production of the whole or any part of the Scriptures by the will or agency, the ingenuity, diligence or fidelity of men, in the use of the means within their reach, without the supernatural influence of the Spirit, is utterly at variance with the teachings of Christ and the apostles, as to the origin of the sacred writings.

As the Christian dispensation surpasses the former in all spiritual privileges and gifts, it is reasonable to presume, that the New Testament was written under, at least, an equal degree of divine influence with the Old, and that it comes recommended to us by equal characteristics of infallible truth. But of this there is clear, positive evidence from the New Testament itself.

In the first place, Jesus Christ, whose works proved him to be the great and unerring Teacher, and to be possessed of all power in heaven and earth, *gave commission to his apostles to act in his stead, and to carry out the work of instruction which he had begun*, confirming their authority by investing them with power to perform miracles. But how could such a commission have answered the end proposed, had not the divine Spirit so guided the apostles, as to render them infallible and perfect teachers of divine truth?

But, secondly, in addition to this, *Jesus expressly promised to give them the Holy Spirit, to abide with them continually, and to guide them into all the truth*. He said to them, "When they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you." Storr and Flatt think this is the idea intended: "The instructions which ye in general give, are derived not so much from yourselves, as from the Holy Spirit. Hence, when ye are called on to defend your doctrines, ye need feel no anxiety, but may confidently rely on the Holy Spirit to vindicate his own doctrines, by suggesting to you the very words of your defence." If these promises were not fulfilled, then Jesus

was not a true Prophet. If they were fulfilled, as they certainly were, then the apostles had the constant assistance of the Holy Spirit, and whether engaged in speaking or writing, were under divine guidance, and, of course, were liable to no mistakes, either as to the matter or manner of their instructions.

In the third place, *the writers of the New Testament manifestly considered themselves to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and their instructions, whether oral or written, to be clothed with divine authority, as the word of God.* "We speak," they say, "*as of God.*" Again, "Which things we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in words which the Holy Ghost teacheth." They declared what they taught to be *the word of God*, and the things they wrote, to be the *commandments* of God. Now the apostles, being honest, unassuming, humble men, would never have spoken of themselves and their writings in such a manner, had they not known themselves to be under the unerring guidance of the Holy Spirit, and their instructions perfectly in accordance with the mind of God.

From several passages in Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, it has been supposed, that, in the cases referred to, he meant to disclaim inspiration. But that those passages will bear another construction, and ought to be understood in another manner, has been satisfactorily argued by several writers, particularly by Haldane and Gaussen, in their Treatises on Inspiration, and by Henderson, in his Lectures. And the writer of this article would take the liberty to refer also to his Lectures on the same subject.

It is perfectly consistent with the plenary inspiration here maintained, that God operated on the minds of inspired men in a variety of ways; sometimes, by audible words; sometimes, by direct inward suggestions; sometimes, by outward visible signs; sometimes, by the Urim and Thummim; and sometimes, by dreams and visions. This variety in the mode of divine influence detracted nothing from its certainty. God made known his will equally in different ways; and whatever the mode of his operation, he made it manifest to his servants, that the things revealed were from him.

But inspiration was concerned, not only in making known the will of God to prophets and apostles, but also *in giving them direction in writing the sacred books.* They wrote *as*

they were moved by the Holy Ghost. And in this, also, there was a diversity in the mode of divine influence. Sometimes the Spirit of God moved and guided his servants to write things which they could not know by natural means, such as new doctrines or precepts, or predictions of future events. Sometimes, he moved and guided them to write the history of events which were wholly or partly known to them by tradition, or by the testimony of their contemporaries, or by their own observation or experience. In all these cases, the divine Spirit effectually preserved them from all error, and influenced them to write just so much, and in such a manner, as God saw to be best. Sometimes, he moved and guided them to write a summary record of larger histories, containing what his infinite wisdom saw to be adapted to the end in view, that is, the benefit of his people in all ages. Sometimes, he influenced them to make a record of important maxims in common use, or to write new ones, derived either from their own reason or experience, or from special divine teaching. Sometimes, he influenced them to write parables or allegories, particularly suited to make a salutary impression of divine things on the minds of men; and sometimes, to record supernatural visions. In these and all other kinds of writing, the sacred penmen manifestly needed special divine guidance, as no man could of himself attain to infallibility, and no wisdom, except that of God, was sufficient to determine what things ought to be written for permanent use in the church, and what manner of writing would be best fitted to promote the great ends of revelation.

Some writers speak of different modes, and different kinds, and even different degrees of inspiration. And if their meaning is, that God influenced the minds of inspired men in different ways; that he adopted a variety of modes in revealing divine things to their minds; that he guided them to give instruction in prose and in poetry, and in all the different forms of composition; that he moved and guided them to write history, prophecy, doctrines, commands, promises, reproofs and exhortations, and that he adapted his mode of operation to each of these cases, against this, no objection can be made. It is a fact, that the Scriptures exhibit specimens of all these different kinds of writing, and these different modes of divine instruction. Still each and every part of what was written was divinely inspired, and

equally so. It is all the word of God, and clothed with divine authority, as much as if it had all been made known and written in one way.

Dr. Henderson, who labors with too much zeal against carrying inspiration to extreme lengths, still says, that, if those who hold to different modifications of inspiration, intend that there are different modifications and degrees of *authority* given to Scripture, their opinion must meet with unqualified reprobation from every sincere believer. He insists that a diversity in the modes and degrees of divine operation did exist in the work of inspiration, and that this diversity was the result of infinite wisdom, adapting itself to different circumstances. He thinks that, unless we admit such a diversity, we cannot form correct ideas of the subject. But he is confident, that the distinction which he endeavors to establish, is not in the slightest degree hostile to the divine authority of Scripture. He affirms, that *no part of that holy book was written without miraculous influence; that all parts were equally inspired*; that in regard to the whole volume, the great end was infallibly attained, namely, the commitment to writing of precisely such matters as God designed for the religious instruction of mankind; that the sacred penmen wrote what had for its object, not merely the immediate benefit of individual persons or churches, but what would be useful to Christians in all future times; and that in regard to the most minute and inconsiderable things which the Scripture contains, we are compelled to say, *this also cometh from the Lord*.

The controversy among orthodox divines respecting what is called *verbal inspiration*, appears to arise, in a great measure, from the different senses affixed to the phrase. Dr. Henderson, who is among the most candid and able writers opposed to the doctrine of *verbal* inspiration, seems to understand the doctrine as denoting the *immediate communication* to the writers, of *every word, and syllable, and letter*, of what they wrote, independently of their intelligent agency, and without any regard to their peculiar mental faculties or habits. While those who most earnestly and successfully contend for the higher views of *inspiration*, particularly, Calamy, Haldane, and Gaussen, consider the doctrine they maintain, as entirely consistent with the greatest diversity of mental endowment, culture and taste in the writers, and with the most perfect exercise of their intelligent agency,—consistent

with their using their own memory, their own reason, their own manner of thinking, and their own language,—consistent too, with their making what they were to write, the subject of diligent and laborious study,—*only insisting, that it was all under the unerring guidance of the divine Spirit.*

In a controversy of such a character as this, we may often succeed in removing difficulties, and in presenting the subject in a light which will be satisfactory to all concerned, by laying aside an ambiguous word or phrase, and making use of one which will express the idea intended, with clearness and certainty. The word *verbal*, in its more common senses, is not well suited to the subject. According to the best philologists, its first signification is, "*spoken; expressed to the ear in words; not written.*" But no one supposes, that when God inspired the sacred writers, he generally spoke to them in audible words. It is indeed true, that he sometimes uttered articulate words in making known his will, as at Sinai, at the baptism of Christ, and on some other occasions. In such cases, he did, properly speaking, make *verbal* communications, or give *verbal* instructions. But we should hardly call this *verbal inspiration*. Who can suppose that this was commonly, if ever, the way in which God inspired holy men of old while engaged in writing the Scriptures? Who can suppose that he taught them what to write by speaking *words* in their ears, as a man teaches his amanuensis? His influence was doubtless *inward*. He guided them in writing by an operation *in their minds*.

The next meaning of *verbal* is, "*oral, uttered by the mouth;*" and this agrees no better with our subject. Other significations of *verbal* are, "*consisting in mere words; respecting words only; literal,*" as in a translation, "*having word answering to word.*" Neither of these senses is adapted to the subject. Now it would be nothing strange, if applying this word to inspiration, and thus giving it an unusual sense, should occasion needless perplexity and confusion. For the sake of avoiding this evil, why would it not be expedient to employ such words, as will convey the idea intended, clearly and definitely, and, if necessary, to incur the inconvenience of using an exact explanation, instead of the word or phrase which causes the difficulty?

The real question, and the whole question at issue may be stated thus: *did the work of the divine Spirit in the sacred*

penmen relate to the language they used, or their manner of expressing their ideas ; if so, how far, and in what way?

All those, with whom we are concerned in the discussion of this question, hold that divine inspiration had some respect to the language employed by the inspired writers, at least, in the way of general *supervision*. And Dr. Henderson shows in various passages of his excellent lectures, that there is no material difference between him, and those who profess to maintain higher ground. He allows that, to a certain extent, what is called *verbal inspiration*, or *the inspiration of words*, took place. "In recording what is immediately spoken with an audible voice by Jehovah, or by an angel interpreter ; in giving expression to points of revelation which entirely surpassed the comprehension of the writers ; in recording prophecies, the minute bearings of which they did not perceive ; in short, in committing to writing any of the dictates of the Spirit, which they could not have otherwise accurately expressed, the writers," he alleges, "were supplied with the words as well as the matter." He says, that even when Biblical writers made use of their own faculties, and wrote each one in his own manner, without having their mental constitution at all disturbed, they were, yet, always secured by celestial influence against the adoption of any forms of speech, or collocation of words, that would have injured the exhibition of divine truth, or that did not adequately give it expression ;" that the characteristic differences of style, so apparent among the sacred writers, were employed by the Holy Spirit for the purposes of inspiration, and "were called forth in a rational way ;" that the writers, "being acted upon by the divine Spirit, expressed themselves naturally ; that while the divine influence adapted itself to whatever was peculiar in the minds of inspired men, it constantly guided them in writing the sacred volume." He declares his belief that the Scriptures were written, not under a partial or imperfect, but under a plenary and infallible inspiration ; that they were entirely the result of divine intervention, and are to be regarded as the oracles of Jehovah. Referring to 2 Tim. 3 : 16, he says, "we are here expressly taught the divine inspiration of the whole of the Old Testament Codex ; that the Scriptures are inspired *as written documents* ; that they are the result of the special and extraordinary influence of the Spirit, and contain

whatever the Spirit caused to be written for our instruction. Referring to 1 Cor. 2: 13, he says: "It is past all dispute that the apostle here unequivocally ascribes both the doctrines which he and his fellow-laborers taught, and their *manner of propounding* them, to the influence of the same divine agent;" that the passage conveys the idea "that *the style or mode of expression* which they used, were such as they were instructed by the Spirit to employ;" that "in delivering their doctrines, they were under the constant guidance of the great Instructor, and clothed them in that garb which he directed them to use;" that in the passage alluded to, the apostle refers "to the *entire character of the style* which the first teachers of Christianity were taught to use in announcing its all-important doctrines." The passage in Matt. 10: 9, 10, he says implies, "that the subject matter of their apology was to be supplied to the apostles; and they might be well assured that if this, which was the more important, was secured by divine instruction, the mere expression would not be wanting." "To remove all ground of hesitation from their minds, our Lord says, *it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.* By his teaching and superintending influence, they would always be enabled to express themselves in a manner worthy of the divine cause which they were called to defend,—a manner which they could never have attained by the exertion of their own unassisted powers; so that, although these powers were not to be superseded, but employed, it was to be as the organs of the divine agency by which they were employed." And he concedes that, as to all practical purposes, they were favored with divine influence in *composing their writings*, as well as in their public speaking.

Our author says that on the day of Pentecost, when the apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost and spake with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance, "verbal inspiration in the strictest sense of the term took place." "The immediate supply of words, he" holds, "was in this, and every similar instance, absolutely necessary." And he thinks that direct verbal inspiration was indispensably requisite in all instances in which prophets and apostles were employed to write what they did not clearly comprehend. The passages in which such terms as *the word of God*, *the Lord spake*, etc., occur, are, in his view, descriptive of

immediate verbal communications. He supposes that, in all such cases, *words* were literally spoken, or audibly pronounced by God himself, or by an angel in his name. In this opinion, however, I think he is mistaken. For, unquestionably, the word of the Lord often, if not generally, came to the prophets in the way of dreams, or other modes of inward suggestion.

The doctrine of a plenary inspiration of all Scripture in regard to the language employed, as well as the thoughts communicated, ought not to be rejected without valid reasons. The doctrine is so obviously important, and so consonant to the feelings of sincere piety, that those evangelical Christians who are pressed with speculative objections against it, frequently, in the honesty of their hearts, advance opinions which fairly imply it. This is the case, as we have seen, with Dr. Henderson, who says, that the divine Spirit guided the sacred penmen in writing the Scriptures; that their mode of expression was such as they were instructed by the Spirit to employ; that Paul ascribes, not only the doctrines which the apostles taught, but the entire character of their style to the influence of the Spirit. He indeed says, that this does not always imply the *immediate communication of the words* of Scripture; and he says it with good reason. For *immediate* properly signifies, *acting without a medium, or without the intervention of another cause or means; not acting by second causes*. Now, those who hold the highest views of inspiration, do not suppose that the divine Spirit, except in a few instances, so influenced the writers of Scripture, as to interfere with the use of their rational faculties, or their peculiar mental habits and tastes, or in any way to supersede second causes, as the medium through which his agency produced the desired effect.

In regard to this point, therefore, there appears to be little or no ground for controversy. For if God so influenced the sacred writers, that either with or without the use of second causes, they wrote just *what* he intended, and in the *manner* he intended, the end is secured; and what they wrote is as truly *his word*, as though he had written it with his own hand on tables of stone, without any human instrumentality. The very words of the decalogue were all such as God chose. And they would have been equally so, if Moses had been moved by the divine Spirit to write them with *his* hand. The expression, that God immediately *imparted*, or *communi-*

cated to the writers the very words which they wrote, is evidently not well chosen. The exact truth is, that *the writers themselves* were the subjects of the divine influence. The Spirit employed them as active instruments, and directed them in writing, both as to matter and manner. They wrote "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The matter, in many cases, was what they before knew, and the manner was entirely conformed to their habits; it was *their own*. But what was written was none the less inspired on that account. God may have influenced and guided an apostle as infallibly in writing what he had before known, and that guidance may have been as really necessary, as in writing a new revelation. And God may have influenced Paul or John to write a book in *his own peculiar style*, and that influence may have been as real and as necessary, as if the style had been what some would call a *divine style*. It was a divine style, if the writer used it under divine direction. It was a divine style, and it was, at the same time, a human style, and the writer's own style, all in one. Just as the believer's exercises, faith and love, are his own acts, and, at the same time, are the effects of divine influence. "In efficacious grace," says Edwards, "we are not merely passive; nor yet does God do some, and we do the rest. But God does all, and we do all. God produces all, and we act all. For that is what he produces, namely, our own acts. God is the only proper author and foundation; we only are the proper actors. We are, in different respects, wholly passive, and wholly active. In the Scriptures, the same things are represented as from God, and from us. God is said to convert men, and men are said to convert and turn. God makes a new heart, and we are commanded to make us a new heart,—not merely because we must use the means in order to the effect, but the effect itself is our act and our duty. These things are agreeable to that text, 'God worketh in you both to will and to do.'" The mental exercises of Paul and of John had their own characteristic peculiarities, as much as their style. God was the author of John's mind, and all that was peculiar to his mental faculties and habits, as really as of Paul's mind, and what was peculiar to him. And in the work of inspiration, he used and directed for his own purposes, what was peculiar to each. When God inspired different men, he did not make their minds and

tastes all alike, nor did he make their language alike. Nor had he any occasion for this; for while they had different mental faculties and habits, they were as capable of being infallibly directed by the divine Spirit, and infallibly speaking and writing divine truth, as though their mental faculties and habits had been all exactly alike. And it is manifest, that the Scriptures, written by such a variety of inspired men, and each part agreeably to the peculiar talents and style of the writer, are not only equally from God, but, taken together, are far better adapted to the purpose of general instruction, and all the objects to be accomplished by revelation, than if they had been written by one man, and in one and the same manner.

This view of plenary inspiration is fitted to relieve the difficulties and objections which have arisen in the minds of men, from the variety of talent and taste which the writers exhibited, and the variety of style which they used. See, it is said, how each writer expresses himself naturally, in his own way, just as he was accustomed to do when not inspired. And see, too, we might say in reply, how each apostle, Peter, Paul, or John, when speaking before rulers, with the promised aid of the Holy Spirit, spoke naturally, *with his own voice*, and in his own way, as he had been accustomed to do on other occasions, when not inspired. There is no more objection to plenary inspiration in one case, than in the other. The mental faculties and habits of the apostles, their style, their voice, their mode of speech, all remained as they were. What then had the divine Spirit to do? What was the work which appertained to him? We reply, his work was, so to direct the apostles in the use of their own talents and habits, their style, their voice, and all their peculiar endowments, that they should speak or write, each in his own way, just what God would have them speak or write, for the good of the church in all ages.

The fact, that the individual peculiarities of the sacred penmen are every where so plainly impressed on their writings, is often mentioned as an objection to the doctrine, that inspiration extended to their *language* as well as their thoughts. This is, indeed, one of the most common objections, and one which has obtained a very deep lodgement in the minds of some intelligent Christians. It may therefore be necessary to take some further pains completely to remove it.

And in our additional remarks relative to this and other objections, it will come in our way to show, that such a writer as Gaussen, who contends with great earnestness and ability for the highest views of inspiration, does still, on all important points, agree with Henderson and other orthodox writers, who advocate lower views of the subject.

Gaussen says, "although the title of each book should not indicate to us that we are passing from one author to another, yet we could quickly discover, by the change of their character, that a new hand has taken the pen. It is perfectly easy to recognize each one of them, although they speak of the same Master, teach the same doctrines, and relate the same incidents." But how does this prove that Scripture is not in all respects inspired? "So far are we," says this author, "from overlooking human individuality, every where impressed on our sacred books, that, on the contrary, it is with profound gratitude, and with an ever-increasing admiration, that we regard this living, real human character infused so charmingly into every part of the word of God.—We admit the fact; and we see in it clear proof of the divine wisdom which dictated the Scriptures."

Those who urge the objection abovementioned, are plainly inconsistent with themselves. For, while they deny the plenary inspiration of some parts of Scripture, *because they have these marks of individuality*, they acknowledge inspiration in the fullest sense in other parts, particularly in the prophecies, where this individuality of the writers is equally apparent.

In truth, what can be more consonant with our best views of the wisdom of God, or with the general analogy of his works, than that he should make use of the thoughts, the memories, the peculiar talents, tastes and feelings of his servants in recording his word for the instruction of men? Why should he not associate the peculiarities of their personal character with what they write under his infallible guidance? But, independently of our reasoning, this matter is decided by the Bible itself. "All Scripture is divinely inspired;" and it is all the word of God. And it is none the less the word of God, and none the less inspired, because it comes to us in the language of Moses, and David, and Paul, and the other sacred writers. "It is God who speaks to us, but it is also man; it is man, but it is also God." The word of God,

in order to be intelligible and profitable to us, "must be uttered by mortal tongues, and be written by mortal hands, and must put on the features of human thoughts. This blending of humanity and divinity in the Scriptures reminds us of the majesty and the condescension of God. Viewed in this light, the word of God has unequalled beauties, and exerts an unequalled power over our hearts."

The objection to the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, from the inaccuracy of the translations, and the various readings of the ancient manuscript copies, is totally irrelevant. For what we assert is, the inspiration of the *original* Scriptures, not of the translations, or the ancient copies. The fact, that the Scriptures were divinely inspired, cannot be expunged or altered by any subsequent event. The very words of the decalogue were written by the finger of God, and none the less so because the manuscripts which transmit it to us contain some variations. The integrity of the copies has nothing to do with the inspiration of the original. It is, however, well known, that the variations are hardly worthy to be mentioned.

But if the copies of the Scriptures which we have, are not inspired, then how can the inspiration of the original writings avail to our benefit? The answer is, that, according to the best evidence, the original writings have been transmitted to us with remarkable fidelity, and that our present copies, so far as any thing of consequence is concerned, agree with the writings as they came from inspired men; so that, through the gracious care of divine providence, the Scriptures now in use are, in all important respects, the Scriptures which were given by inspiration of God, and are stamped with divine authority. In this matter, we stand on the same footing with the apostles. For when they spoke of the Scriptures, they doubtless referred to the copies which had been made and preserved among the Jews, not to the original manuscripts written by Moses and the prophets.

It has been made an objection to the plenary inspiration of the writers of the New Testament, that they generally quote from the Septuagint version, and that their quotations are frequently wanting in exactness. Our reply is, that their quotations are made in the usual manner, according to the dictates of common sense, and always in such a way, as to subserve the cause of truth; and therefore that the objection

is without force. And as to the Septuagint version, the apostles never follow it so as to interfere with the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures. Their references to the Old Testament are just such as the case required. There is a noble freedom in their quotations; but that freedom never violates truth or propriety.

If any one, like Priestly and other Unitarians, alleges, that there are in the Scriptures errors in reasoning and in matters of fact, he opens the door to the most dangerous consequences. Indeed, he takes the ground of infidelity. And if any one holds, that some parts are inspired, while other parts are not inspired, then we ask, who shall make the distinction? And if we begin this work, where will it end?—But our present concern is with those who deny that inspiration respected the language of Scripture.

There are some who maintain, that all which was necessary to secure the desired result, was an infallible guidance of the *thoughts* of the sacred writers; that with such a guidance, they might be safely left to express their thoughts in their own way, without any special influence from above.

Now if those who take this view of the subject mean, that God not only gives the sacred penmen the very ideas which they are to write, but, in some way, secures an infallible connection between those ideas and a just expression of them in words, then indeed we have the desired result,—an infallible revelation from God, made in the proper language of the writers. But if any one supposes, that there is naturally such an infallible connection between right thoughts and a just expression of them in language, without an effective divine superintendence, he contradicts the lessons of daily experience. But those to whom we refer, evidently do not themselves believe in such an infallible connection. For when they assign their reason for denying that inspiration related to the language of the Scriptures, they speak of the different, and, as they regard them, the contradictory statements of facts by different writers; for example, the different accounts of the crucifixion and the resurrection, and the different accounts of the number of the slain, in Num. 25: 9, and 1 Cor. 10: 8. Who, they say, can believe that the *language* was inspired, when one writer says that 24,000 were slain, and the other, 23,000? But it is easy to see,

that the difficulty presses with all its force upon those who assert the inspiration of the *thoughts*. For surely they will not say, that the sacred writers had *true thoughts* in their minds, and yet uttered them in the language of falsehood. This would contradict their own idea of a sure connection between the conceptions of the mind and the utterance of them in suitable words; and would clearly show that they themselves feel it to be necessary that the divine guidance should extend to the *words* of inspired men, as well as their thoughts. But if Paul, through inadvertence, committed a real mistake in saying that 23,000 fell in one day, it must have been a mistake in his *thoughts*, as well as in his words. For when he said 23,000, had he not the idea of that number in his mind? If, then, there was a mistake, it lay in his *thoughts*. But if there was no mistake in either of the writers, then there is nothing to prove that inspiration did not extend to the language. If, however, there was a real mistake, then the question is not, what becomes of *verbal* inspiration, but, what becomes of inspiration *in any sense*?

As to the way of reconciling the two statements above-mentioned, but a few words can be offered here. Some writers attempt to remove the difficulty in this manner. The first writer says, 24,000 were slain, meaning to include in that number all who died in consequence of that rebellion. The other writer says, 23,000 fell *in one day*; leaving us to conclude that an addition of 1000 fell the next day. But it may, perhaps, be more satisfactory to suppose, that neither of the writers intended to state the exact number, this being of no consequence to their object. The real number might be between twenty-three and twenty-four thousand, and it might be sufficient for them to express it in general terms, one of them calling it 24,000, and the other 23,000; that is, *about so many*,—either of the numbers being accurate enough to make the impression designed. Suppose that the exact number was 23,579, and that both the writers knew it to have been so. It was not at all necessary, in order to maintain their character as men of veracity, that they should, when writing for *such a purpose*, mention the exact number. The particularity and length of the expression would have been inconvenient, and might have made a less desirable impression of the evil of sin, and the justice of God, than expressing it more briefly in a round number; as we

often say, with a view merely to make a strong impression, that in such a battle ten thousand, or fifty thousand, or half a million were slain, no one supposing that we mean to state the number with arithmetical exactness, as our object does not require this. And who can doubt, that the divine Spirit might lead the sacred penmen to make use of this principle of rhetoric, and to speak of those who were slain, according to the common practice in such a case, in round numbers?

It is sometimes said, that the sacred writers were of themselves generally competent to express their ideas in *proper language*, and in this respect had *no need* of supernatural assistance. But there is just as much reason for saying, that they were of themselves generally competent to form their own *conceptions*, and so had no need of supernatural aid in this respect. It is just as reasonable to say, that Moses could recollect what took place at the Red Sea, and that Paul could recollect that he was once a persecutor, and Peter, what took place on the mount of transfiguration, without supernatural aid, as to say, that they could, without such aid, make a proper record of those recollections. We believe a real and infallible guidance of the Spirit, in both respects; because this is taught in the Scriptures. And it is obvious that the Bible could not be what Christ and the apostles considered it to be, unless it was divinely inspired.

The diversity in the narratives of the evangelists is sometimes urged as an objection against the position we maintain in regard to inspiration; but evidently without reason, and contrary to reason. For what is more reasonable than to expect, that a work of divine origin will have marks of consummate wisdom, and will be suited to accomplish the end in view. Now it will not be denied, that God determined that there should be four narratives of the life and death of Jesus, from four historians. If the narratives were all alike, three of them would be useless. Indeed, such a circumstance would create suspicion, and would bring discredit upon the whole concern. The narratives must, then, be different. And if, besides this useful diversity, it is found that the seeming contradictions can be satisfactorily reconciled, and if each of the narratives is given in the peculiar style and manner of the writer, then all is natural and unexceptionable; and we have the highest evidence of the credibility and truth of the narratives.

We shall advert to one more objection. It is alleged, that writers, who were constantly under a plenary divine inspiration, would not descend to the unimportant details, the trifling incidents, which are found in the Scriptures. To this it may be replied, that the details alluded to must be admitted to be according to truth, and that those things which, at first view, seem to be trifles, may, when taken in their connections, prove to be of serious moment. And it is moreover manifest, that, considering what human beings and human affairs really are, if all those things which are called trifling and insignificant were excluded, the Scriptures would fail of being conformed to fact; they would not be faithful histories of human life. So that the very circumstance which is demanded as proof of inspiration, would become an argument against it. And herein we cannot but admire the perfect wisdom which guided the sacred writers, while we mark the weakness and shallowness of the objections which are urged against their inspiration.

On the whole, after carefully investigating the subject of inspiration, we are confirmed in the important conclusion, that "all Scripture is divinely inspired;" that the sacred penmen wrote "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" and that these representations are to be understood as implying, that the writers had, in all respects, a constant and effectual guidance of the divine Spirit. And we are still more confirmed in this conclusion, because we find, that it begets in those who seriously adopt it an acknowledgement of the divine origin of Scripture, a reverence for its teachings, and a practical regard to its requirements, like what appeared in Christ and his apostles. Being convinced that the Bible has, in all parts and in all respects, the seal of the Almighty, and that it is truly and entirely from God, we are led by reason, conscience and piety, to bow submissively to its high authority, implicitly to believe its doctrines, however incomprehensible, and cordially to obey its precepts, however contrary to our natural inclinations. We come to it from day to day, not as judges, but as learners; never questioning the propriety or utility of any of its contents. This precious word of God is the perfect standard of our faith, and the rule of our life,—our comfort in affliction, and our sure guide to heaven.

ARTICLE II.

THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

BY REV. WM. CROWELL.

THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST DELINEATED; *in two Essays on our Lord's own account of his Person, and of the Nature of his Kingdom; and on the Constitution, Powers and Ministry of a Christian Church, as appointed by himself.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1842.

THIS volume has been before the American public more than a year. It was introduced by a brief, though highly commendatory notice, from the Rev. Dr. Skinner, pastor of the Mercer Street Presbyterian Church, New York; and the author of several valuable religious works. The subject of the book,—the structure and organization of the kingdom of Christ on earth, or, in the author's own words, "the constitution, powers and ministry of a Christian church, as appointed by Christ himself,"—always an important one, has become especially so of late, in consequence of the animated discussions which it has received in England, and the singular positions advanced by some of the leading divines at Oxford.

The author of this treatise, well known as occupying a high ecclesiastical station in his own country, is yet more widely known by the numerous and valuable productions of his pen, as an elegant scholar, a sound thinker, and a close, logical reasoner. His writings bear the impress of mature reflection, extensive research, and of what is still better, a truly catholic, evangelical spirit. Though an Episcopalian from principle and from choice, he is not an advocate of the exclusive claims of any church, nor of any one ministry, to the divine sanction. When an Episcopal ruler of the highest rank, whose duty it is to study thoroughly the principles of church government, and become accurately acquainted with the ecclesiastical precedents of all ages, finds it necessary to take up his pen in express opposition to Episcopal writers, whose zeal in advocating the exclusive claims of their bishops

outstrips their discretion, we have the strongest assurance that the work is needed, and that it will be in some way instructive.

The views of such a writer as Dr. Whately, on the subject of church polity, are, therefore, peculiarly valuable at the present time. This subject has not, in our opinion, received that degree of attention from Baptists, which its importance deserves. We have no sympathy with the high-church notion, of exalting church-membership above faith and a holy life; yet, when we recollect, that the prosperity of religion depends, in no small degree, on the purity and the order of Christian churches, and that the introduction of false principles of church polity has paved the way for the most appalling corruptions which have ever disgraced the Christian name, we are alarmed at the prevailing indifference among us on this subject. It is true, that, in the Scriptures, salvation is never predicated on membership in this or that church, nor, indeed, in any church at all; yet it is the sacred duty of every Christian to uphold, by precept and by example, those principles which are most in harmony with the word of God. Our duties on this subject, as on that of baptism, are not limited by our theory of what is essential to our personal safety at the judgment-seat. The will of our divine Redeemer is to be our supreme rule of action, irrespective of personal consequences. Worldly men have studied church polity as they have politics, for the sake of their own aggrandizement; Christians, and especially Christian ministers, should do so from a holier impulse, that of love to Christ.

The book before us is divided into two parts. The first essay is on our Saviour's own account of his person, and of the nature of his kingdom, as set forth at his two trials. From the account which he gave of himself before the Jewish councils, it is shown that he was charged with blasphemy, as claiming to be the Son of God, in a sense authorizing adoration; that he was so understood at the time, and that he so designed to be understood. It was necessary for them to substantiate this charge, because they could not capitally convict him, according to their law, for professing to be the Christ, even though falsely. The Jews did not expect a *divine* Messiah. "A learned modern Jew, who has expressly written that Jesus 'falsely demanded faith in himself as the

true God of Israel,' adds, that 'if a prophet, or *even the Messiah himself*, had offered proof of his divine mission by miracles, but claimed divinity, he ought to be stoned to death.'" But as the Jews well knew that Pilate would not ratify a sentence of death for the crime of claiming divinity, while the Romans canonized mortals by scores among their gods, the charge before him is shifted to that of "speaking against Cæsar." They would not concern themselves with Christ's claims to spiritual dominion.

When our Lord was brought before the bar of the Roman Procurator, therefore, for a second trial, the charge against him was shifted. The Jewish Council had found him guilty of a capital crime *by their law*; but not being permitted, under Roman rule, to inflict capital punishment, they bring him before Pilate on a new and entirely different charge. "The whole multitude of them arose and led him unto Pilate; and they began to accuse him, saying, 'we found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ, a king.'" Now, applying the same rule of interpretation to our Lord's expressions as on the former trial, and assigning to them 'the sense, as far as we can ascertain it, in which he must have known that he was understood at the time,' what is the meaning of his reply to this charge?

In the words of Dr. Whately: "As on a former occasion, when his adversaries had tried to *make* him commit the offence with which they now charged him, of interfering with the secular arm of Cæsar, he, so far from forbidding to give tribute, drew the line between secular and spiritual government, saying, 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cesar's, and unto God the things which are God's,'—so now, before Pilate, he asserts his claim to be a king, but declares that 'his kingdom is not of this world,' and that accordingly, his servants were not allowed to fight for him; and he further describes his kingly office to consist in 'bearing witness to the truth.' The result was that Pilate acquitted him; declaring publicly that 'he found in him no fault at all.'"

The language of this defence, as our author well reasons, should be understood, fully, and in its most extensive sense, as it was then understood, to be a complete disclaimer on the part of Jesus, both for himself and his followers, of any

design to interfere, as such, with the affairs of civil government. In opposition to this view, it has been maintained, "he did mean to disclaim all temporal dominion for *himself personally, and at that time*; but hereafter, when 'the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord,' and when 'kings shall become nursing-fathers' of his church, when the church shall be in its complete development, by being perfectly identified with the state,'—then, all those Christians who shall have attained power, should exercise that power, in enforcing the profession of his gospel, and in putting down idolatry, infidelity, heresy, dissent, and all false religion. In short, at the time when Christ stood before Pilate, his kingdom was not of this world, 'because (in the words of one of the most celebrated ancient divines) that prophecy was not yet fulfilled.—"Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings, be instructed, ye judges of the earth; serve the Lord with fear." The rulers of the earth were, at that time, opposed to the gospel; the apostles and other early disciples were unable to compel men to conform to the true faith; and therefore it was, that the secular arm was not yet called to aid against the church's enemies.'"

To this it is replied, that, had our Lord meant to be so understood, it would have been to plead guilty to the charge. To the Roman government, it was a point of no importance whether Jesus *himself*, or his followers, headed by Peter and the other apostles, should revolt, and set up a rival kingdom. The disclaimer in the words, "My kingdom is not of this world," could not have been sincere and true, unless it included his followers also.

The advocates of a church and state establishment, however, resort to modes of evasion which charge our blessed Saviour with nothing less than double-dealing, in order to reconcile his words with what they claim to be the duty of every Christian ruler. "The magistrate," say they, "who restrains, coerces, and punishes any one who opposes the true faith, obeys the command of God." "And they contend," says our author, "that a Christian governor is not only authorized, but bound, to secure to the professors of the true faith a monopoly of political power and civil rights." To maintain these views, they are obliged to attribute to the language of Christ a different meaning from that which was understood at the time—a *hidden* meaning.

"It is recorded of an ancient king of Egypt, that he employed a celebrated architect to build a magnificent light-house for the benefit of shipping, and ordered an inscription in honor of himself, to be engraved on it. The architect, though inwardly coveting the honor of such a record for himself, was obliged to comply; but made the inscription on a plaster, resembling stone, but of perishable substance; in the course of years, this crumbled away, and the next generation saw another inscription, recording the name, not of the king, but of the architect, which had been secretly engraved on the durable stone below.

"Just such a device as this," says Archbishop Whately, "is attributed to our Lord and his apostles, by those who believe them to have designed that secular power should hereafter be called in to enforce the Christian faith, though all such designs were apparently disavowed, to serve a present purpose. According to such interpreters, 'my kingdom is not of this world,' was only an inscription on the perishable plaster; the design of 'coercing and punishing' by secular power, all opponents of the true faith, was, it seems, the engraving on the stone beneath. 'Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's,' was but the outward part of the inscription; the addition was an inner engraving, directing that Christians, when strong enough, should compel both Cæsar and his subjects—all rulers and all citizens, either to acknowledge the true faith or to forfeit their civil rights. It was the outside inscription only that ran thus, 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man—the powers that be, are ordained of God;' the secret characters on the stone said, 'Take care as soon as possible to make every ordinance of man submit to you.'"

We have exhibited the arguments of our author very fully on this point, for the purpose of showing how rapidly the principle which the Baptists have always maintained, in regard to the power of the magistrate in religious matters, is spreading among truly pious and judicious men. We, as a denomination, have always said that "it implies a sinful distrust—a want of faith in Christ's wisdom, goodness, and power, to call in the aid of the arm of flesh,—of military or civil force,—who declares that he could have called in the aid of 'more than twelve legions of angels;' and who, when 'all power was given to him in heaven and in earth,' sent forth his disciples—not to subjugate, nor to rule, but to *teach* all nations,' and 'sent them forth as sheep among wolves.'"

We have always maintained that there should be no system of taxation instituted by the civil power in behalf of religion, and we heartily rejoice whenever these, our cherished sentiments, are reiterated. And when we recollect how Roger Williams was banished from the soil of Massachusetts for promulgating the very doctrines* which

* Knowles' Memoir of Roger Williams, p. 72. Hague's Historical Discourse, p. 18.

now find powerful advocates even in high places in the Old World, we exclaim with gratitude, "What hath God wrought!"

The reasoning and the conclusions of this essay are irresistible. And coming as they do from one of the highest dignitaries of the English Church Establishment, the vital principle of which is, that Christ's kingdom *is* of this world—that when Christians, real or nominal, become sufficiently numerous, it is their right and duty to seize on the reins of government, and force the world into the service of the church, they are peculiarly gratifying.

Having shown that a church is a spiritual society, the author proceeds, in his second essay, to point out the essential elements of its constitution, and to discard others as false and dangerous. Among the latter, he specifies the doctrine of "apostolical succession." We admire the moral courage, and the disinterestedness, with which he speaks out his honest convictions on this subject. Believing, as we do, that this doctrine, as advocated by prelatists of every class, is destructive to piety, we rejoice that a warning voice has been raised against it, which will be heard by those who are most exposed to danger. This doctrine declares that Episcopal bishops are of the rank of apostles; that they only have power to ordain, to admit members to, and expel them from, "the church;" that there is, and can be, but one true church, which is the Episcopal, no other valid ministry nor valid ordinances, except as performed by that ministry.

We do not intend to enter into a discussion, or attempt a refutation of this doctrine at present. We shall content ourselves with giving a statement of the doctrine from some of its most distinguished advocates, and merely suggesting a few of the difficulties in the way of its proof.

Mr. Percival, whose "Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession" is regarded as a standard authority in England, and is adopted by the "Protestant Episcopal Tract Society," in this country, thus states it:

"The Church of England holds, that the commission and authority for ministering in the name of God, has been transmitted from the apostles, by what is called Episcopal succession; that is to say, that the apostles left the power, which they had received from Christ, to govern the churches, and to preach the gospel, and to administer the sacraments, and to ordain other clergy to assist in all these duties, in the hands of a certain class of chief pastors (to whom, in very early times,

the term *bishop* was appropriated); that this power and commission has been handed down in the church, from their time till now, by bishops ordaining bishops; and that none who have not received Episcopal ordination are lawful ministers of the church, or warranted to perform any acts in the name and with the authority of God."

Bishop Beveridge, speaking of Dissenters generally, says :

"Whereas in the private meetings, where their teachers have no apostolical or Episcopal imposition of hands, they have no ground to succeed the apostles, nor, by consequence, any right to the spirit which our Lord hath; without which, although they preach their hearts out, I do not see what spiritual advantage can accrue to their hearers by it."

Strong as is their attachment to Episcopacy, in all its forms, especially to a ministry in three orders, many of these writers regard their claim to "apostolic descent" as far more important. A writer in the *British Critic* uses the following strong language :

"We are of *THE CHURCH*, not of the Episcopal Church; our bishops are not merely an order in her organization, but the *principle of her continuance*; and to call ourselves Episcopalians, is to imply, that we differ from the mass of Dissenters *mainly* in church government and form; whereas the difference is, that we are here, and they are there; we are *in* the church, and they are *out* of it."

All others are charged, by these writers, with "renouncing the church of Christ, renouncing her ministry, and, through them, Christ himself. They cannot, therefore, expect to be considered as Christians, but, according to the command of Christ, as heathens and publicans."

A few specimens of the language of this class of writers, in reference to the claims of "dissenting religious bodies," and "dissenting ministers," as they choose to call them, will further illustrate their views, as well as their spirit. Says Mr. Palmer, speaking of Dissenters generally :

"They are *human* societies. The will of man makes them, regulates them, unmakes them. They are, in a word, purely voluntary associations, and, therefore, cannot be any part of that church which is formed by the divine command, and from which man cannot separate without most grievous sin. . . . Of these communities, whether collectively or individually considered, I affirm, that they are no part of the church of Christ. . . . They and their generations are as the heathen; and though we may have reason to believe that many of their descendants are not obstinate in their errors, still it seems to me, that we are not warranted in affirming absolutely that they can be saved."

The argument of the Baptists, that the Church of England is in error on the subject of baptism, this writer dismisses in a

very summary manner. "A difficulty of this kind," says he, "raised by a mere handful of professing Christians, in opposition to the judgment and practice of the church in all ages, from the beginning, is not worthy of attention. In fact, there cannot be a more decided mark of heresy and apostacy from Christ, than such a condemnation of what the church, in all ages, has received and approved!"

"The long and short of the matter is," says Bishop Seabury, "in the Church we have the government, faith, sacraments, worship and ministry or priesthood which are of divine authority; in the use of these we can assuredly depend on the holiness which God hath annexed to them. Out of the church, we are sure of none of these things; because out of the church God hath not promised them." Again, "Christ has but *one* church; and if we be not *in* his church, we are *out* of it; and, let our religion be ever so right and good in our own estimation, it can have no warranted title to those privileges and blessings which are, by divine authority, annexed to the church of Christ." *

Against writers of this class, the author of the volume before us has directed his powerful arguments. In describing their views, he says (p. 120),

"They make our membership of the church of Christ, and our hopes of the gospel salvation, depend on an exact adherence to every thing

* A specimen of the manner in which this doctrine is taught to the young, may be amusing, if not instructive. In a doctrinal catechism of the Church of England, published in London, the following questions and answers occur:

1. Who are your lawful and spiritual pastors? The ministers of the Church of England in these realms.

2. What are they called? Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

3. Are not Dissenting teachers ministers of the gospel? No; they have never been called after the manner of Aaron.

4. But do they not say that God has called them inwardly? Yes; but if he had, he would have called them, according to the order of his word, outwardly.

5. What do you mean by the order of his word? They should have been appointed by "those who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard," and who are also the apostles' successors.

6. Who are they? The bishops of the Church of England, in the English church.

7. Who consecrated the bishops? Their spiritual predecessors, and they theirs, and so on, until you come to apostolical times and apostolical men, and so to Christ, the founder of our religion.

8. Who ordains priests and deacons? The bishops, with the help of their presbyters.

9. Is it not very wicked to assume this sacred office? It is; as is evident from the case of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. (Numbers 15.)

10. Who appoints Dissenting teachers? They either wickedly appoint each other, or are not appointed at all; and so, in either case, their assuming the office is very wicked.

11. But are not Dissenting teachers thought to be very good men? They are often thought to be such; and so were Korah, Dathan and Abiram, till God showed them to be very wicked.

12. But may we not hear them preach? No; for God says, "Depart from the tents of these wicked men."

that is proved, or believed, or even suspected, to be an apostolic usage; and on our possessing what they call apostolical succession; that is, on our having a ministry whose descent can be traced up, in an unbroken and undoubted chain, to the apostles themselves, through men regularly ordained by them or their successors, according to the exact forms originally appointed. And all Christians (so called) who do not come under this description, are to be regarded either as outcasts from the household of faith, or, at best, as in a condition 'analogous to that of the Samaritans of old,' who worshipped on Mount Gerizim, or as in 'the intermediate state between Christianity and heathenism,' and as 'left to the uncovenanted mercies of God.'

"Those who, on such grounds," he proceeds, page 121, "defend the institutions and ordinances, and vindicate the apostolical character, of our own (or indeed of any) church, whether on their own sincere conviction, or as believing that such arguments are best calculated to inspire the mass of mankind with becoming reverence, and to repress the evil of schism, do seem to me, in proportion as they proceed on those principles, to be, in the same degree, removing our institutions from a foundation on a rock, to place them on sand. Instead of a clearly intelligible, well established, and *accessible* proof of divine sanction for the claims of our church, they would substitute one that is not only obscure, disputable, and out of the reach of the mass of mankind, but even self-contradictory, subversive of our own and every church's claims, and leading to the very evils of doubt and schismatical division, which it is desired to guard against."

Not only does Archbishop Whately rebuke these sticklers for apostolical succession, he utterly discards the idea of one only true visible church. Unlike Episcopal writers generally, he speaks of "*a* Christian church." The English reformers, he declares, p. 124, "vest the claims of ministers, not on some supposed sacramental virtue, transmitted from hand to hand, in unbroken succession from the apostles, in a chain, of which if any one link be even doubtful, a distressing uncertainty is thrown over all Christian ordinances, sacraments, and church privileges, for ever; but, on the fact of those ministers being the *regularly appointed officers of a regular Christian community*." We use his own *italicising*, and simply remark, that this is precisely the Baptist view of the subject. In the time of the apostles, he says, p. 136, "a church and a diocese seem to have been, for a considerable time, *co-extensive* and *identical*. And each church or diocese, and, consequently, each superintendent (a term which he uses as synonymous with bishop, overseer, and "angel"), though connected with the rest by ties of faith, and love, and charity, seems to have been perfectly independent, as far as regards any power of control." This is precisely the independence maintained at the present day by

Baptists ; but it is certainly gratifying to have the sanction of an archbishop for its apostolic authority. "The plan pursued by the apostles," he continues, p. 136, "seems to have been, to establish a great number of small (in comparison with most modern churches), distinct and independent communities, each governed by its own single bishop."

It is obvious, at a glance, that the doctrine of apostolical succession, and that of one only true visible church, must stand or fall together. In reference to the former, two inquiries arise. First, is the doctrine of apostolical succession, as above stated, real and true? And if so, can such an unbroken succession, as it declares necessary, be traced from the apostles to the present time? The first must be settled by appealing to Scripture and common sense; the latter is a question of history. If the first be not sustained, the latter is of no consequence. It is not our intention to discuss either, though we cannot refrain from mentioning a few of the assumptions which are necessary, before the first can be supported.

1. This doctrine assumes, in the first place, that when our Lord chose twelve from the number of his disciples, whom he also named apostles, he intended that this office should be distinct and perpetual;—an important assumption, certainly, since the proof of it is so obviously impracticable, that no one has, to our knowledge, attempted it.

2. It asserts that the power of ordaining ministers of the gospel was committed exclusively to the apostles, to be transmitted to their successors, the bishops and prelates. We call this an assumption, because no proof, that we are aware of, has been offered to sustain it, except to deny that it can be proved from the New Testament, that any others besides apostles ordained. Even this denial, unimportant as it is, cannot be maintained. "Saul and Barnabas," says Archbishop Whately, "were *ordained*, *not* by the hands of the other apostles, or of any persons at Jerusalem, but by the elders of Antioch."

3. This doctrine assumes, that this order of men received the new and unheard-of power to perpetuate itself, by being invested with the sole right to consecrate their successors, to the end of time. And, as the bishops claim the sole power to put in, and put out, "inferior clergy," and private members, the unparalleled extent of this assumption is manifest.

This is a prerogative which no monarchy nor priesthood ever yet possessed ; no hint of its existence or impartation can be found in the Scriptures ; and yet no Episcopal writer seems to be aware that there is any assumption in the case.

4. This doctrine assumes, directly in the face of Scripture, that there is, and can be, but one true visible church on earth.

5. It assumes, in the face of Scripture, and of common sense, and of all analogy, that the officers in this church are not chosen by the church, but the church by the officers ; that the officers are not at all accountable to the church, but the church to the officers.

These will suffice for a specimen of the assumptions on which this doctrine rests. All these points must be taken for granted, before the usual arguments in favor of the doctrine of apostolical succession are of the least avail. And yet, we deny them all. Reference is often made to the Jewish priesthood, and reasoning is adopted which proceeds on the assumption, that the case of the Christian ministry is parallel. If the soundness of this course of reasoning is allowed in this case, it must be generally ; and the consequence would be, as every one can see, the subversion of the gospel. The fact, that an order of things was established in the Jewish commonwealth, is no argument for such an order in the church of Christ.

But the advocates of the doctrine of apostolical succession will do well to remember, that the argument which they so often tacitly appeal to, makes directly against themselves. They compare all who do not submit to Episcopal authority to Korah and his company, and to Dathan and Abiram. This is assuming, that there is the same scriptural command for a succession of apostles, that there was for a succession of priests in the family of Aaron. Let us see. In Ex. 40 : 13—15, we find this command of Jehovah, through Moses, in reference to the Aaronic succession : “And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments, and anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest’s office. And thou shalt bring his sons, and clothe them with coats. And thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest’s office ; for their anointing *shall surely be an everlasting priesthood, throughout their generations.*”

Now, if we may reason from this to the Christian church, it will follow :

1. That the true successors of the apostles are their own natural sons ; and, of course, the sons of the bishops should succeed to their fathers' office.

2. No power was given to Aaron and the priests to appoint their successors. God himself appointed them. The sons of the priests succeeded to their fathers' office in course.

3. If the priests had assumed the power, like modern bishops, to appoint their own successors, they would probably have met a worse fate than Korah and his company. They might have been served like the four hundred priests of the high places in the time of Ahab and Elijah.

4. But no one ever pretended that any command of Christ is found, providing for the transmission of the apostolic office, by lineal descent, or in any other way.

5. Therefore the doctrine of apostolical succession is not only a gross assumption, but an assumption in the teeth of the very Scripture precedents to which its advocates appeal for support.

There is no more evidence in the Scriptures, nor from the nature of the case, that the apostolic office was intended to be permanent, than that of prophet, gifts of healing, or of tongues. But there are, on the contrary, good reasons for believing that the office ceased with the lives of those who were chosen by our Lord himself. The peculiar service to which they were appointed ceased. The objects of their appointment seem to have been :

1. To preach the gospel, before churches could be raised up to send them forth, or sustain them in the work. While the Saviour was on earth, he was both law-giver and law-executor in Zion. He, therefore, acting in the latter capacity, in the discharge of a duty afterwards committed to the churches, personally chose and sent forth the twelve, and gave to them miraculous means of safety and support. There must be preachers of the gospel, before there could be churches ; he therefore named them apostles,—*men sent*, not *chosen* by any church, nor members of any one. They were accountable to no particular church, and could look to no one for support. Paul often refers to this peculiar feature in the apostolic office.

2. Another object in the appointment of the twelve, was,

that they might be witnesses of the resurrection of Christ. Peter gives this, as the reason why one should be chosen to take the place of Judas. Paul repeatedly declares, in the most emphatic manner, that he had *seen* the Lord Jesus, as one necessary evidence of his apostleship.

3. The third object was, to provide inspired, infallible expounders of the will of Christ, after his ascension to heaven, from among those who had enjoyed his personal instructions on earth. The Saviour promised the Holy Spirit to his apostles, to bring all that he had taught them to their remembrance. The need of inspired teachers soon became apparent. In the case of Cornelius, and the offering of the gospel to the Gentiles, the troubles in the churches at Antioch, in Galatia, and at Corinth, the necessity for inspired men becomes manifest. Who is not grateful, that, in consequence of this third object in the institution of the apostolic office, we have the whole of the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, if, indeed, our faith in the inspired authority of the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts of the apostles, does not rest mainly on the evidence, that their composition was superintended and sanctioned by apostles.

We heartily subscribe, therefore, to the sentiment of our author's closing section: "Successors in the apostolic office, the apostles have none. As witnesses of the resurrection,—as dispensers of miraculous gifts,—as inspired oracles of divine revelation, they have no successors. But as members,—as ministers,—as governors of Christian communities, their successors are the regularly admitted members,—the lawfully ordained ministers,—the regular and recognized governors, of a regularly subsisting Christian church."

As to the other point, the historical question, we will content ourselves, at present, with quoting the opinion of our learned author, Archbishop Whately, which is deserving of great weight, among Episcopalians at least. He says, p. 182:

"There is not a minister in all Christendom, who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree. The sacramental virtue (for such it is that is implied—whether the term be used or not—in the principle I have been speaking of), dependent on the imposition of hands, with a due observance of apostolical usages, by a bishop, himself duly consecrated, after having been in like manner baptized into the church, and ordained deacon and priest,—this sacramental virtue, if a single link of the chain be faulty, must, on the above princi-

ples, be utterly nullified for ever after, in respect of all the links that hang on that one. For if a bishop has not been duly consecrated, or had not been, previously, rightly ordained, his ordinations are null, and so are the ministrations of those ordained by him, and their ordination of others (supposing any of the persons ordained by him to attain to the episcopal [*i. e.*, bishop's] office); and so on, without end. The poisonous taint of informality, if it once creep in undetected, will spread the infection of nullity to an indefinite and irremediable extent.

"And who can undertake to pronounce that, during that long period, usually designated as the Dark Ages, no such taint ever was introduced? Irregularities could not have been wholly excluded, without a perpetual miracle; and that no such miraculous interference existed, we have even historical proof. Amidst the numerous corruptions of doctrine and of practice, and gross superstitions, that crept in during those ages, we find recorded descriptions, not only of the profound ignorance and profligacy of life of many of the clergy, but also of the grossest irregularity in respect of discipline and form. We read of bishops, consecrated when mere children; of men officiating who barely knew their letters; of prelates expelled, and others put in their places, by violence; of illiterate and profligate laymen, and habitual drunkards, admitted to holy orders; and, in short, of the prevalence of every kind of disorder, and reckless disregard of the decency which the apostle enjoins. It is inconceivable, that any one, even moderately acquainted with history, can feel a certainty, or any approach to certainty, that, amidst all confusion and corruption, every requisite form was, in every instance, strictly adhered to, by men, many of them openly profane and secular, unrestrained by public opinion, through the gross ignorance of the population among which they lived; and that no one, not duly consecrated or ordained, was admitted to sacred offices."

Such, our author declares, is the condition of the historical argument for an unbroken apostolical succession,—such the evidence on which the Episcopal clergy claim to be the only authorized ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, and refuse to recognize as valid the ministry of any other body of Christians! We sympathize in his reflection on the facts: "It is no wonder, therefore, that the advocates of this theory studiously disparage reasoning, decry appeals to evidence, and lament that even the power of reading should be imparted to the people. It is not without cause, that they dread and lament 'an age of too much light.'" And we shall cease to wonder that they should praise an individual, "as a model of *pure Anglican church-principles*, because he 'submitted to the decisions of inspiration, *wherever* it was to be found, whether in Scripture or antiquity!'"

We will now present a few extracts from our author, in reference to the Episcopal claim of being the only true church. After speaking of the plan pursued by the apostles in forming the "earliest churches" as "distinct and independent com-

munities," when "a church and a diocese seem to have been *co-extensive* and *identical*," "each church or diocese, though connected with the rest by ties of faith, and hope, and charity, perfectly independent, as far as regards any power of control,"—a most accurate description, by the way, of the condition of Baptist churches, both now, and so long ago that "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary,"—he continues, p. 137 :

"Now, to vindicate the institutions of our own, or of some other church, on the ground that they 'are not in themselves superstitious or ungodly,'—that they are not at variance with gospel principles, or with any divine injunction that was designed to be of universal obligation, is intelligible and reasonable. But to vindicate them on the ground of the exact conformity, which it is notorious they do not possess, to the most ancient models, and even to go beyond this, and condemn all Christians whose institutions and ordinances are not 'one and utterly like' our own, on the ground of their departure from the apostolical precedents, which no church has exactly adhered to,—does seem, to use no harsher expression, not a little inconsistent and unreasonable. And yet one may not unfrequently hear members of Episcopalian churches pronouncing severe condemnation on those of other communions, and even excluding them from the Christian body, on the ground, not of their not being under the *best* form of ecclesiastical government, but of their wanting the very essentials of a Christian church, viz., the very same distinct orders in the hierarchy that the apostles appointed: and this, while the Episcopalians themselves have, universally, so far varied from the apostolical institution, as to have in one church several bishops; each of whom, consequently, differs in the office he holds, in a most important point, from one of the primitive bishops, as much as the governor of any one of our colonies does from a sovereign prince."

To this frank avowal of the fact that the Episcopal body has departed, in an important respect, from apostolic order,—that on which the exclusive claims of her ministry rest,—we add a paragraph or two, in regard to the doctrine of ecclesiastical catholicism.

"We are wont to speak of the foundation of the church,—the authority of the church,—the various characteristics of the church,—and the like, as if the church were, originally, at least, one society in all respects. From the period in which the gospel was planted beyond the precincts of Judea, this manifestly ceased to be the case; and as Christian societies were formed among people more and more unconnected and dissimilar in character and circumstances, the difficulty of considering the church as one society increases. Still, from the habitual and unreflecting use of this phrase, 'the church,' it is no uncommon case to confound the two notions; and occasionally to speak of the various societies of Christians as *one*, occasionally as *distinct* bodies. The mischief which has been grafted on this inadvertency in the use of the term, is no singular instance of the enormous practical results which may be traced to mere ambiguity of expression. The church is un-

doubtedly *one*, and so is the human race *one*; but not as a *society*. It was, from the first, composed of distinct societies, which were called *one*, because formed on common principles. It is one society, only, when considered in reference to its *future* existence. The circumstance of its having one common Head (Christ), one Spirit, one Father, are points of unity which no more make the church one society on earth, than the circumstance, that all men having the same Creator, and being derived from the same Adam, renders the human race one family.”—p. 144.

“The church is *one*, then, not as consisting of one society, but because the various societies, or churches, were then modelled, and ought still to be so, on the same principles; and because they enjoy common privileges,—one Lord, one Spirit, one baptism. Accordingly, the Holy Ghost, through his agents, the apostles, has not left any detached account of the formation of any Christian society; but he has very distinctly marked the great principles on which all were to be founded, whatever distinctions may exist among them.”—p. 146.

The last paragraph, though credited to the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, is evidently from his own pen; to which he adds, “the above account is sufficiently established, even by the mere negative circumstance of the absence of all mention, in the sacred writings, of any *one* society on earth, having a government and officers of its own, and recognized as the catholic or universal church; especially when it is considered that the frequent mention of the particular churches at Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Corinth, of the seven churches in Asia,—and of ‘the care of all the churches’ which Paul had founded, would have rendered unavoidable the notice of the one church (had there been any such), which bore rule over all the rest, either as its subjects, or as provincial departments of it.” And he adds, on the following page, “If we proceed to historical evidence, we find, on examination, that there *never was a time* when the supremacy of any one church was acknowledged by all, or nearly all Christians.”

Such is the reasoning, and such the conclusions, of the author of this excellent and most seasonable publication. We admire the calm, frank, fearless tone, in which the author speaks out his deep convictions on a subject of so much importance. Heaven speed the progress of such sentiments, till the barriers to Christian union, arising from high-church exclusiveness, shall be swept away. Let Baptists study thoroughly the Scripture principles of church polity,—the true laws and order of the kingdom of Christ,—not because they are difficult or intricate, but because they are so simple, so beautiful,—and be prepared, not only to defend them, but to exhibit their practical excellences to the world.

ARTICLE III.

FERVENCY IN RELIGION.

THE piety of the present day seems essentially defective in one of the most important parts of a genuine Christian character. It is not deficient in certain kinds of excitement, or in the amount of effort called forth for particular purposes, and directed to certain ends. But to us, the defect appears to be in the absence of that pure and powerful principle, holiness of heart, which lies at the root of all that is truly lovely and permanently useful in a good life. The psalmist represents the pious man "as a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season. His leaf, also, shall not wither." The Saviour, in speaking of the vital union between himself and his true disciples, makes use of a similar figure. "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit." This simple but beautiful image conveys to the mind, at once, the idea of what is most necessary to a healthful and vigorous piety. It is to be in Christ, and to abide in Christ. We see, at the present day, much of spasmodic excitement and fitful effort. But the frequent exhibition of a character rooted and grounded in love; that acquires strength and consistency with time; that spreads a wider shadow of comfort and refreshment, as it grows; that fills a larger circuit with its fragrance, and arrests the observer's eye by its beauty; that brings forth much fruit, and brings it forth in all its seasons;—this is much more rare. But is it well to have a piety, either in individuals or in the churches, without foundation? Is the inconsistent, the partial, the defective, so beautiful as the well-proportioned, the well-balanced and the complete? Must we be fed continually with artificial stimulants, in order to draw forth the signs of vitality? Is the sudden cessation of zeal more sure of the promise of eternal life, than the patient continuance in well doing? We presume that no one would maintain the affirmative of these questions. And yet there is

very much in the practical language of the life, that supports these strange heretical propositions. Else, what is the meaning of that dislike which many manifest to the patience and perseverance essential to advancement in the paths marked by the footsteps of prophets, apostles, martyrs, and of the Son of God? Has there been, then, any new way discovered, by which the self-denial, the pains-taking, the self-sacrifice, the constant attention to religious duties, enjoined in the sacred Scriptures, may be avoided? Is the impulse to action, produced by popular excitement or private fancy, the test of a gracious state of heart? May we, as the caprices of curiosity or custom lead, burn with zeal, and then relapse again into a periodical coldness? Whatever may be the taste of the times, this does not appear to us the most desirable kind of religion. And we are obliged to question the reality and strength of that piety, which cannot endure the application of severer tests. The piety which seems to us alone valuable, is that which, having a deep-laid foundation in the understanding and the heart, ascends in a steady, strong, pure, and never-dying flame, towards heaven; not that which blazes forth, flickers, and expires.

If we consult the word of God, we shall find one of the characteristics of true piety to be its power of endurance. Our Saviour tells us, that he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Paul declares, that eternal life will be awarded to those only who patiently continue in well-doing. And Jude exhorts us to keep ourselves in the love of God. Yet how many there are, who, having seemed to start well in the race for heaven, are hindered! They are for a while attentive to their religious duties, display great zeal, and seem to give evidence of sincere faith in Christ; but when temptations or difficulties arise, they are offended, and fall away. It cannot be said of such individuals, that they were ever truly converted. In the language of Hannah More, "their religion was perhaps taken up in some accidental circumstance, built on some false ground, produced by some evanescent cause; and, though it cannot be fairly pronounced that they intended to deceive others, yet it is probable that they themselves were deceived." They probably mistook the movements of animal passion, for the influences of the Holy Spirit; and because there were some sparks of animated feeling, and some fitful gleamings of zeal, they imagined that no doubt

remained of their having met with a saving change. Their faith was not rooted and grounded, and the first scorching heat withered it away. Their pride disdained the self-denying course of the Christian. Their petulance made them impatient of religious restraint. Their love of novelty made them become dissatisfied with the strict and persevering performance of duty. Their love of pleasure made them sigh for the gay and exciting scenes of animal enjoyment. There was no principle in them deep enough to secure their prolonged attachment to a system of self-denying, pains-taking labors. Their hearts were not radically changed.

There is another and very large class, who, whatever may be hoped of their Christian character, confessedly live far below their privileges. The church of Ephesus was of this description. There were many things in it worthy of commendation; and yet there was one, that greatly marred its beauty, and endangered its interests. It had left its first love. The Christian's first love is a fervent love; and it is his duty and privilege to continue in it.

We are exhorted to be "fervent in spirit." The effect of Christ's conversation with his two disciples, who walked to Emmaus after his crucifixion, was, to produce in them a burning heart. It was a beautiful testimony which Paul bore of Epaphras, that he always labored fervently for the brethren in prayers, that they might stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. Many arguments might be employed, to prove that a spiritual, pure, exalted and fervent religion ought to be preferred above every other. This alone is acceptable in the sight of Heaven, or calculated to render us truly happy, extensively useful, or undoubtedly safe. "They who argue for a more relaxed system," says Mr. Wilberforce, in one of his admirable letters, "will hardly say they expect to be happier hereafter, than if they were more strict; all, at least, I have heard from them in general is, that they think they are strict enough to ensure their safety. We do not act so in matters of temporal interest. A man would be thought a fool, who, having the whole of Europe wherein to choose his residence, should plant himself within such a distance from a pest-house as he and some other unthinking people held sufficient for his safety, though the wiser and better of his friends told him he was in hourly danger of infection." What preparation such a religion gives, for an abundant entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord

Jesus Christ! Yet how many are satisfied with a name to live, while they are dead; with the form of godliness, while they are destitute of the power! How eagerly will the eye kindle, and the heart dilate, in the light of a worldly theme, while the same eye is languid, and the same heart cold, when called to contemplate the higher subjects of the love of Christ, and the glories of eternity! If these things be true of us, we should heed the warning, to be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain, that are ready to die.

If we would maintain the inward life of religion, and learn what treasures of joy are in reserve for us, we must apply ourselves diligently to the use of the appropriate means. We must believe a high standard of piety, the conformity of the human mind to the divine image, the most important and sublime of all attainments. We must earnestly desire to arrive at it. We must cherish confidence in the divine promises. We must be fervent in prayer, and diligent in the study of the word of God. We must abide in Christ, by the faithful use of these divinely-appointed means. If we neglect them, the whole spiritual man becomes paralyzed. We must observe what has actually been attained by men of like passions with ourselves. The piety of Enoch, though peculiar, was by no means beyond the sphere of man. "He walked with God." His religion was only such a habit as we ourselves may form. It was consistent and habitual; not periodical, not fitful, not marked by desultory efforts and transient emotions; not stained by acts of strange immorality, or even degraded by frequent declension. It was a constantly progressive course of sublime virtue, growing brighter and brighter, till lost amid the light of heaven. Whitefield, so far from declining, was ever ascending, as a flame towards heaven. Brainerd, and Pearce, and Martyn, and others of kindred character, continued to burn with the ardor of a seraph's love, till borne, as it were, in chariots of fire, to a seraph's station, before the throne of God. What a beautiful cluster of Christian virtues did they exhibit! What humility, what gentleness, what gratitude, what submission, what faith, what obedience, what love! What holy and intimate communion did they enjoy with God! What zeal did they manifest for the salvation of men! Yet they were men, "mortal, too, like us;" and can we doubt, that we may acquire the beauty of holiness, and enjoy the comforts of the Holy Ghost, which marked their bright and glorious career?

ARTICLE IV.

CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

BY THE EDITOR.

HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO; *with a preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. In 3 vols., 8vo., pp. 488, 480, 524. New York: Harpers. 1843.

THESE splendid volumes of Mr. Prescott, the well-known author of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella, are an interesting and valuable contribution to the knowledge of the New World. The mechanical execution is worthy of all praise; it seems doubly beautiful, in contrast with the crowded pages, thin paper, and small type, worn down by the heavy motions of the steam-press, which, in this age of cheap publications, abound. There can be, moreover, but one opinion of the high literary rank of the work. The materials for its composition, drawn from various, remote, and, to most persons, inaccessible sources, and the skill exhibited in the use of them, the evidence of extensive investigation and acquaintance with general literature, mature views, and rich style, indicate in "the old man eloquent," not only ripe scholarship, but, also, thorough mastery of his subject. Partially shut out, as he has been, from communion with the visible world, the eye of his mind is evidently keensighted to apprehend truths, which none but the inner sense is competent fully to grasp and unfold. It is an interesting fact in literary history, that this elegant production is the work of a man, who was unable to see his own manuscript, or to correct, or even read, his original draft. A cultivated mind, notwithstanding physical disability, can often influence the world without. What obstacles will not talent, disciplined and developed, and lofty purpose, overcome?

Every part of the work of Mr. Prescott possesses high value and interest. It is distributed under three main topics, which are set forth in the title. But, from the nature of the

case, they cannot be kept wholly distinct. They illustrate one another. The history of the conquest of Mexico embraces the most important chapters in the life of Cortés. It is in the stirring and splendid scenes of that event, that we not only trace what Cortés did, but see what he was. There his talents were unfolded, as an accomplished warrior, a prudent counsellor, a sagacious calculator, a religious enthusiast,—a man of iron bodily constitution, incredible perseverance, and rare decision of character; a man whose courage and presence of mind never deserted him; always rich in resources, apparently moulded and fashioned for the exigencies of such a time and of such events, made for a great military general, and, as it were, born for discovery, conquest and dominion. The same narrative which details the proceedings of Cortés, lays open much that pertains to the history of Aztec civilization. In the description of their military operations, their defences, their mode of warfare, their transmission of intelligence, their religious rites, their social and civil condition, we discover the quality and extent of their civilization, and their claims to a rank among the polished nations of past ages. And every thoughtful reader will ask, on the one hand, who were the Aztecs, whence they came, how they lived, and to what degree of advancement they had attained; and, on the other, what became of the wonderful man, who was the moving-spring in the conquest, which forms the main subject of the book. The learned author need not, therefore, have apologized, in his preface, for the apparent want of logical unity in his performance; in consequence of the exhibition of other points, besides the one of chief interest, and which forms the main topic of the work. He has related just what we could have wished, and only what the laws of suggestion seem to demand. If an nice discernment should, by chance, accuse him of sinning in the matter of unity, no critic of enlarged views can deny, that he has more than atoned for the sin, by his most satisfactory completeness. More, we could not ask; less, would have left the appetite which had been sharpened, unsupplied.

In investigating the annals of Mexico, we are carried back to many of the interesting topics which are suggested to us in reading the history of the Old World. The abstruse questions relating to the origin and civilization of nations, come up afresh for examination and settlement. Many of the same phenomena are visible in the New World, which met us

in the other hemisphere; and, instead of finding, in the comparison of these later discoveries with our former knowledge, a clue to the solution of our difficulties, the difficulties are rather increased. Whence did these western tribes come? Whence did they derive their approximation to a high state of civilization, their knowledge of the arts, their system of government, their architecture, their strange contradictory worship,—a mixture of devotion and the most revolting cannibalism? Why is there so great a difference among the tribes on this western continent,—so marked a disparity between the several great waves of population, that have swept down successively from the north? How does it come to pass that a more cultivated race has, in some instances, been both preceded and followed by a less cultivated one? If they are the descendants of adventurers from south-eastern Asia, why are they so unlike their progenitors in almost all respects? Why do their monuments, instead of bearing the marks of an Asiatic origin, lead us almost directly to the monuments of Egypt, and favor, in some cases, a rigid comparison with them? We do not assume to answer these questions. Too many links are wanting in the chain of history to admit of any thing more, at present, than a conjectural solution. Still we do not despair of finding light thrown upon some of these points by the cultivation of the inhabitants of the Asiatic archipelago. Traditions may be discovered, or associated elements of language, or national customs, now unknown, which may pour a flood of illumination on these dark problems; and, by the comparison of the races which are and have been tenants of the eastern and western hemispheres, new confirmation may be given of the scriptural theory of the human race, the descendants of one pair. The account given by Mr. Prescott of the original inhabitants of the western and south-western portions of this continent is not only interesting in itself, but is also valuable for its bearing on these points. It brings efficient aid to the student of national genealogies.

The north has proved in the New World, as in the Old, the prolific hive of nations—a fact, in this case, favorable to the opinion that the earliest Indian tribes of America came from Asia by the way of Beering's Straits, in the northwest. The most conspicuous of the early tribes that ranged through the territory of Anahuac,—the name given to that portion of

North America which embraces New Spain—were the Toltecs. They are known to us only through the traditionary legends of their successors. They are supposed to have entered the territory of Anahuac before the close of the seventh century ; and, after a triumphant career of four centuries, during which they became masters of the whole country into which they had forced their way, “reduced by famine, pestilence, and unsuccessful wars, they disappeared from the land, as silently and mysteriously as they had entered it. A few of them still lingered behind ; but much the greater number, probably, spread over the region of Central America, and the neighboring isles.” The traditionary accounts of the Toltecs represent them to have been well-instructed in agriculture, and the most useful of the mechanic arts. They were skilful workers of metals, not ignorant of mathematical calculation, and distinguished in architecture. The name *Toltec* has become a synonym for *architect* ; and the magnificent ruins of religious and other edifices in various parts of New Spain are attributed to their labor. After the lapse of another hundred years, the Chichimecs, a barbarous tribe from the remote northwest, entered the country which the Toltecs had nearly deserted. Several other tribes, of a higher civilization, soon followed. Among these were the Aztecs or Mexicans, and the Acolhuans or Tezcucans. Their mild religion and manners fitted them to receive from the few remaining Toltecs a tincture of civilization. This they communicated to the barbarous Chichimecs, who, becoming imbued with their spirit and manners, were easily amalgamated with them as one nation. The Aztecs, for a long time, shifted their abode, like wandering shepherds, from place to place in the Mexican valley ; experiencing the occasional disasters incident to migratory tribes, dwelling among rival, and often more powerful, races, and sometimes brought under the dominion of their enemies. But after a series of wanderings and adventures, they at length halted on the southwestern borders of the principal lake, in the year 1325.

“They there beheld, perched on the stem of a prickly pear, which shot out from the crevice of a rock that was washed by the waves, a royal eagle of extraordinary size and beauty, with a serpent in his talons, and his broad wings opened to the rising sun. They hailed the auspicious omen, announced by the oracle as indicating the site of their future city, and laid its foundations by sinking piles into the

shallows; for the low marshes were half buried under water. On these they erected their light fabrics of reeds and rushes; and sought a precarious subsistence from fishing, and from the wild fowl which frequented the waters, as well as from the cultivation of such simple vegetables as they could raise on their floating gardens. The place was called Tenochtitlan, in token of its miraculous origin, though only known to Europeans by its other name of Mexico, derived from their war-god, Mexitli. The legend of its foundation is still further commemorated by the device of the eagle and the cactus, which form the arms of the modern Mexican republic.* Such were the humble beginnings of the Venice of the Western World."

The Aztecs gradually extended their power, and improved their polity and military discipline. They also secured the alliance of their neighbors, the Tezcucans, and of the kingdom of Tlacopan; and, by the middle of the fifteenth century, they had carried their authority to the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. The frail structures of Tenochtitlan gave place to more imposing edifices, of stone and lime. The boundaries of the city were enlarged, and the evidences of its prosperity and social elevation were appearing on every side. And in the beginning of the sixteenth century, just before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Aztec dominion, augmented by yearly conquests, reached across the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and into the farthest corners of Guatemala and Nicaragua. The whole territory was thickly inhabited by various races of fierce and warlike Indians. But the Aztec name carried terror to their hearts; and though, in many respects, but little inferior to the Aztecs themselves, they submitted to them as conquerors, and paid a rich annual tribute to the lords of Tenochtitlan.

The condition of Aztec or Mexican civilization may be inferred from the manners, customs, laws, religion and government, which the Spaniards found among them, or the nature of which they discovered through their oral or painted traditions. The government was an elective monarchy. The nobles of the empire, during the preceding reign, chose four of their own number, as electors; to these were added, though with nothing more than an honorary rank, the two royal allies of Tezcuco and Tlacopan. "The sovereign was selected from the brothers of the deceased prince, or, in default of them, from his nephews. Thus the election was always restricted to the same family. The candidate pre-

* This device is stamped on the Mexican dollars and other coins, which are in daily circulation in every part of the United States.

ferred, must have distinguished himself in war, though, as in the case of the last Montezuma, he were a member of the priesthood." "The new monarch was installed in his regal dignity with much parade of religious ceremony; but not until, by a victorious campaign, he had obtained a sufficient number of captives to grace his triumphal entry into the capitol, and to furnish victims for the dark and bloody rites which stained the Aztec superstition." The king had many of the highest nobility constantly about his person. A number of the nobles were organized into an advisory council, to aid the king in maturing his plans for the welfare both of the government and of his subjects.

The monarch was sole legislator; but over each of the principal cities, with its dependencies, he appointed a supreme judge, who held his office during life, and whose jurisdiction extended both to civil and criminal causes. There was no appeal from his decisions, not even to the king. "Below this magistrate was a court, established in each province, and consisting of three members. It held concurrent jurisdiction with the judge in civil suits, but, in criminal, an appeal lay to his tribunal." A body of inferior magistrates, chosen by the people of the several districts, held the jurisdiction of smaller causes. Still another class of subordinate officers was chosen in the same manner, each of whom watched over the conduct of a certain number of families, and reported any misdemeanor to the higher authorities. A special tribunal was instituted for the sole purpose of determining questions relating to marriage; and a divorce could not be obtained except by the authority of this court, after a patient hearing of the parties. If a judge accepted a bribe, he was punished with death. The Tezcucan law made it, also, a capital offence for a judge to determine suits in his own house. The proceedings of their trials were set forth by a clerk in hieroglyphical paintings. A capital sentence was indicated by a line, drawn with an arrow across the portrait of the accused. The catalogue of capital offences is rather a formidable one. Adulterers were stoned to death. Theft was punished by slavery or death. It was a capital offence to remove the boundaries of another's lands, to alter the established measures, and for a guardian not to be able to give a good account of the property of his ward. Prodigals, who squandered their patrimony, suffered death. Intemperance was punished,

in the young, with death; in older persons, with the loss of rank and confiscation of property. In the bloody code of Nezahualcoyotl, the wilful perversion of truth, in a historical production, was a capital offence. The taking of life was less revolting to a barbarous people, familiar with scenes of blood, than to the civilized and cultivated. One of the marks of the highest civilization is found in that system of legislation which sets the greatest value upon the life of a subject; ordaining the mildest punishments which are consistent with the safety of society and the welfare of the citizens; and preferring that which is remedial, securing the reformation of the offender, to that which cuts him off, as a worthless branch, at the same time robbing the state of his services, and consigning his own name to ignominy.

The system of slavery existed among the Aztecs. Criminals, public debtors, and persons who, from extreme poverty, resigned their freedom, and children sold by their own parents, usually because they were too poor to support them, supplied the demand. Prisoners of war were also considered as slaves, and were generally reserved for the altars which were always smoking with human sacrifices. In the case of children, sold into slavery by their parents, a stipulation was often made, with the master's consent, by which, as they grew up, they were replaced by other children of the family, successively, that the burden might fall as equally as possible upon the different members. The contract of sale was executed in the presence of, at least, four witnesses, and the services to be required, limited with great precision. The slave was allowed to have his own family, to have property, and even other slaves. His children were born free. No one could be born to slavery in Mexico. The masters never sold their slaves, except when driven to it by poverty; sometimes, they were married to them; often, they liberated them at their death. Slavery, therefore, it must be confessed, had many mitigations—many which are unknown in the most civilized and Christian countries. And yet it was a bitter provision, which permitted that a refractory slave might be led into the market with a collar round his neck, which indicated his bad character, and there publicly sold; and, on a second sale, reserved for sacrifice.

The cultivation of the Aztecs was of such a nature as to indicate its close affiliation with barbarism. Their arts fur-

nished them with splendid vestments and rich trinkets; but they were suited, chiefly, to the fancy of men in the bosom of savage life, or but just emerging from it. The aim of all their institutions was the profession of arms. Military greatness dazzled them beyond all other greatness; and, as we have seen, no one was eligible to the supreme dominion, even though he belonged to the priesthood, who had not distinguished himself by exhibitions of courage and military prowess. In war, they advanced, singing, and, like true savages, shouting their war-cries. And, with unrelenting severity, they doomed the prisoners taken in battle, to the altar of human sacrifice. They had a system of worship; but its rites were cruel and bloody. They had laws; but they were marked by the most sanguinary ferocity. Their civilization bore some traces of a Christian civilization, but they were few. The softening spirit of the gospel was not infused into it. It had contrivance, and skill, and calculation; it provided for many social conveniences; it set them far above the other Indian tribes, which roamed over the deserts of North America. But it had no heart. It wanted the living soul. It lacked warmth. If it buried the tomahawk, it was so slightly covered that it might be dug up again. If it developed man, the man it developed was grafted on, rather than substituted for, the savage.

It will be interesting, however, to gather up a few of the items which indicate the progress of this wonderful people in the arts and habits of civilized life. Their architecture furnishes one of the most imposing tokens that they had imbibed the spirit of improvement. Not contented with the filthy and comfortless wigwam, or the bed of leaves, the fatigue of ranging over boundless forests, the scanty and uncertain food derived from the chase, and, in general, with the manners and customs of barbarous life, they sought a condition of ease and luxury and comfort, of dignity and authority, not to say of mental expansion and universal refinement. Their chief city, redeemed from the waters of the lake, became a pile of massive structures. It was connected with the main land by three causeways, built with vast labor, and defended from sudden assaults by drawbridges, like the castles of the Old World. These causeways, built in the most substantial manner of stone and lime, were wide enough to permit ten or twelve horsemen to ride abreast. There were several hundred temples in each of the principal cities; many of

them, perhaps, very humble edifices, but some, possessed of extraordinary magnificence. The following is our author's description of them :

"They were solid masses of earth, cased with brick or stone, and in their form somewhat resembled the pyramidal structures of ancient Egypt. The bases of many of them were more than a hundred feet square, and they towered to a still greater height. They were distributed into four or five stories, each of smaller dimensions than that below. The ascent was by a flight of steps, at an angle of the pyramid, on the outside. This led to a sort of terrace, or gallery, at the base of the second story, which passed quite round the building, to another flight of stairs, commencing also at the same angle as the preceding and directly over it, and leading to a similar terrace ; so that one had to make the circuit of the temple several times, before reaching the summit. In some instances, the stairway led directly up the centre of the western face of the building. The top was a broad area,* on which were erected one or two towers, forty or fifty feet high, the sanctuaries in which stood the sacred images of the presiding deities. Before these towers stood the dreadful stone of sacrifice, and two lofty altars, on which fires were kept, as inextinguishable as those in the temple of Vesta. There were said to be six hundred of these altars, or smaller buildings, within the enclosure of the great temple of Mexico, which, with those on the sacred edifices in other parts of the city, shed a brilliant illumination over its streets, through the darkest night."

The palaces of the city of the Aztecs, and their common dwellings, also, exhibited some attainments in architecture. The mansions of the nobles were low, never exceeding two stories in height ; but they spread over a wide area, were arranged in a quadrangular form, with a court in the centre, after the manner of the oriental dwellings, and surrounded by porticos, embellished with porphyry and jasper ; and the court was not unfrequently adorned with an artificial fountain, whose jets diffused a grateful coolness through the atmosphere. The palace of the Aztec princes was provided with halls for the different councils, who aided the monarch in the transaction of business ; and within the royal buildings, there were accommodations for a numerous body-guard of the sovereign. The palace of Tezcuco was built on a princely scale, in order to afford accommodations for the sovereigns of Mexico and Tlacopan, when they visited the court. It contained three

* At the storming of the great temple, Cortés found the area "large enough to afford a fair field of fight for a thousand combatants;" and on this aerial arena, an important battle was fought between a detachment of the Spaniards and the Aztecs, in sight of their respective armies. The perpendicular height of the pyramid of Cholula was 177 feet ; its base, 1423 feet long, twice as long as that of the great pyramid of Cheops. Its base, which was square, covered about 44 acres, and the platform on its truncated summit embraced more than one.

hundred apartments, some of them fifty yards square. Two hundred thousand workmen, it is said, were employed in building it.

The Aztecs had made some progress, indicating a degree of civilization, in the mechanic arts. The quarrying, hewing, and laying of stone, in their dikes, houses and temples, implies a degree of calculation, skill and taste. Even if all other traces of the people were blotted out, and the people themselves swept away, their architectural monuments would alone impress the traveller with the conviction that this was once the abode of civilized man.

But there were many other tokens of civilization among them. Their judicial system, which has already been alluded to, indicates a refinement of thought, a wise foresight, an acquaintance with character, a nice regard to the claims of justice, which places them among the most polished nations of antiquity. They were raised above barbarous tribes by their arrangements for a constant and rapid communication between the remote parts of the empire and the capital. Posthouses were established on the great roads; and couriers, trained from childhood to run with incredible swiftness, conveyed despatches two hundred miles a day. "The courier, bearing his despatches in the form of a hieroglyphic painting, ran with them to the first station, where they were taken by another messenger, and carried forward to the next, and so on, till they reached the capital." Their system of picture-writing, enabling them to record the history of events, to communicate with the absent, and even to express ideas which could not, from the nature of the case, have any other than a conventional symbol, indicates that they had, at least, commenced a career of civilization, which, in a course of years, would have set them beside the ancient Egyptians. They devised, likewise, a system of notation, and a chronological system, adjusting the civil to the solar year, which ingeniously solved that difficult problem, with more accuracy than many nations of higher pretensions have been able to attain. In their attention to agriculture, they went far beyond the barbarous tribes of North America. Their management for the renovation of the soil, their schemes for its irrigation, their laws for the preservation of wood from destruction, and their provision of extensive granaries for their harvests, exhibited the skill and forecast of civilized man. The labors of the field were chiefly

performed by the men, and the female sex, to use the words of our author, "was as tenderly regarded by the Aztecs, in this matter, as it is in most parts of Europe, at the present day." They were acquainted with several mechanic arts. The mineral treasures in their soil were not unknown to them. Silver, gold, lead, tin and copper were obtained by them from the beds of rivers, from the bowels of the mountains, and from veins, wrought into the solid rock. And by means of alloyed metals, as tin and copper, they were able, with the aid of a silicious dust, to cut not only metals, but also, basalt, porphyry, amethysts and emeralds. They knew how to cast vessels of gold and silver, often of extraordinary size, and to carve them with their chisels in a very delicate manner; so that even the Spanish goldsmiths admitted their superiority over themselves in this kind of work. They sculptured images and bas-reliefs, many of which are still found among their ruins. The foundations of the cathedral, in the great square of Mexico, are said to be composed entirely of sculptured images. A new cellar can scarcely be dug, without throwing up some of these mouldering relics of ancient art. The cochineal insect, furnishing the rich crimson dye, was introduced into Europe from Mexico, where it was nourished with great care, on plantations of cactus. They had, also, the art of embroidery, and especially, a wonderful skill in the gorgeous featherwork, which excited more admiration in Europe, than any of the numerous specimens of American ingenuity which found their way across the Atlantic. After the league between the three chief powers, resident in those regions, Tezcuco, Mexico and Tlacopan, among other arrangements indicating a gratifying degree of advancement, an academy was formed, denominated the Council of Music, but devoted to the encouragement of all works of science and art. "Works on astronomy, chronology, history, or any other science, were required to be submitted to its judgment, before they could be made public. It decided on the qualifications of the professors in the various branches of science, on the fidelity of their instructions to their pupils, the deficiency of which was severely punished, and it instituted examinations of these latter. In short, it was a general board of education for the country. On stated days, historical compositions, and poems treating of moral or traditional topics, were recited before it by their authors. Seats were provided for the three

crowned heads of the empire, who deliberated with the other members on the respective merits of the pieces, and distributed prizes of value to the successful competitors." This academy was a Tezcucan, not an Aztec, institution; but still it was native. How extraordinary a growth from a soil, which, as it is known to us in the North American tribes of modern days, is productive only of degradation, illiteracy and barbarism!

There is still another token of Mexican civilization, the introduction of which in the Old World is ranked among the fruits of Christianity. "Hospitals were established in the principal cities, for the cure of the sick, and the permanent refuge of the disabled soldier, and surgeons were placed over them, 'who were so far better than those in Europe,' says an old chronicler, 'that they did not protract the cure, in order to increase the pay.'" It has been asserted that heathenism has no care for the sick. So far from providing for their comfort, many pagan nations seek to hasten the death of their near relations; exposing their aged parents to perish, or smothering them with mud on the banks of some consecrated river. Hindoostan has its hospitals for cats!—but none for suffering men and women. Civilized India was outdone by the natives of uncultivated America.

It is difficult to reconcile with so many tokens of civilization, the horrible practice of offering human sacrifices, which existed among the Mexicans to an extent, and under circumstances, indicating an extreme barbarity, to which history scarcely furnishes a parallel. Prisoners taken in war were doomed, invariably, to this fearful end; and the warriors manifested the utmost penuriousness in the sacrifice of human lives, that the more victims might be saved for the bloody altars of Tezcatlipoca. The peaceful Toltecs offered harmless oblations of fruits and flowers, or, at most, stained their hands only with the blood of animals. But the fierce Aztecs, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, engrafted upon their simple worship this cruel abomination. The practice became afterwards more and more frequent, with the extension of their power, till scarcely a festival was closed without the immolation of some hapless victim. The number of human sacrifices yearly offered on the altars of Anahuac is incredible. Some writers state it at fifty thousand, and scarcely any one pretends to estimate it at less than twenty thousand.

“On great occasions, as the coronation of a king, or the consecration of a temple, the number becomes still more appalling. At the dedication of the great temple of Huitzilopotchli, in 1486, the prisoners, who for some years had been reserved for the purpose, were drawn from all quarters to the capital. They were ranged in files, forming a procession nearly two miles long. The ceremony consumed several days, and seventy thousand captives are said to have perished at the shrine of this terrible deity. . . . It was customary to preserve the skulls of the sacrificed, in buildings appropriated to the purpose. The companions of Cortés counted one hundred and thirty-six thousand in one of these edifices. Without attempting a precise calculation, therefore, it is safe to conclude, that thousands were yearly offered up in the different cities of Anahuac, on the bloody altars of the Mexican divinities.”

While we question the right of the Spaniards to claim dominion over these lords of the soil, and to assume the ownership of the soil itself, the detail of the bloody rites of their superstition reconciles us to the change of masters. We see in it the hand of God, pitying his suffering creatures, and coming down to deliver them. We are relieved, in perusing this history of the Conquest, when we read of the destruction of the towering pyramids, around whose sides the gloomy processions of victims for sacrifice were so often seen winding. We bless the triumphant soldiers of Cortés, and cheer them on, as they tumble from their pedestals, the idols before whose shrines the palpitating heart, torn from the yet living holocaust, had so often smoked. We give thanks that a just God reigns among the nations.

We have, perhaps, lingered too long already on this portion of the work. We cannot forbear, however, to collect and present a few items, exhibiting points of connection between these primitive tribes and the population of the Eastern continent. All speculations concerning their exact origin are, of course, dark and conjectural. Still, it affords no slight gratification to find the manners, and customs, and arts of Burmah, China, and other parts of Eastern Asia, and even of Egypt, transplanted, among the early settlers on the mountains and plains of Central America.

The Aztec mode of doing obeisance was truly oriental. Their quadrangular buildings, surrounding a court, remind one of the characteristic of ancient architecture in the eastern cities. The barbaric pomp and splendor of Montezuma's residence, and his luxurious method of living, find their prototype only in an Asiatic sovereign. Baths and gardens, fountains and other water-works, artificial ponds, stocked

with all kinds of fish, an aviary for all manner of birds, marble pavements, and light and airy pavilions, amidst a wilderness of fragrant flowers and sparkling jets, were among the elegances of his private establishment. He could boast as many wives as are found in an Eastern harem. Gomara makes the number of them one thousand. Water was brought him in a silver basin, before and after eating, as in oriental countries. In Mexico, as in Egypt, the soldier shared with the priest the highest consideration. The piles on which their temples were built, and on which were the altars of sacrifice, seem to stand nearly related to the Egyptian pyramids. According to the tradition of the Aztecs, they found, on coming into the country, two large pyramids dedicated to the sun and moon, and innumerable smaller ones,—precisely the same thing which occurs in the region of the pyramids in Egypt. In the southern side of one of the principal mounds, is still discoverable an entrance to a narrow gallery, which terminates in two wells,—a parallel to the solitary chamber of the Egyptian Cheops. Numerous arrow-heads and other relics are dug up in the immediate neighborhood, showing that here was also the burial-place of some of the early races, who have passed away. These piles of the Aztecs, as sepulchres, belong to the same class with the pyramids of Egypt; as places of religious worship, they are kindred structures with the Burman and Chinese pagodas. The Egyptian papyrus found a complete counterpart in the Mexican agave; the paper from which, when properly dressed and polished, was more soft and beautiful than parchment. The Mexican picture-writing was a less perfect mode of communication than the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but of the same kind. The Chinese language exhibits the hieroglyphic system, carried to a still higher degree of advancement, but retaining the traces of the picture-writing in which it originated. Nezahualcoyotl built a pyramidal structure in the usual form, surmounted by a tower nine stories high, to represent the nine heavens. This structure he dedicated “to the Unknown God, the Cause of causes,”—like the altar which Paul found at Athens, on which was the self-same inscription. The figment of nine heavens was not unknown to more polished nations of antiquity. It formed a part of Ptolemy’s scientific creed. The astronomical skill of the Aztecs is another point in which they approached the Egyptians. Their celebrated calendar-

stone, weighing nearly fifty tons, quarried and sculptured without the aid of iron, and transported to its resting-place without the strength of any beasts of burden, indicates both the astronomical taste and skill of the Aztecs, and the knowledge of machinery, such as the Egyptians must have required to raise many of the stupendous masses of rock, used in the construction of their pyramids. In the coming of the Spaniards, a tradition was fulfilled, which led them to expect white men from the East, who should become the masters of the country. It was under the influence of this supposed fulfilment of prophecy, that some of the natives were inclined, without the least resistance, religiously to yield themselves and their country to the hands of their conquerors. A similar tradition it is well known, has long existed among the Karen tribes in the mountains of the Burman empire; although the pale race expected by the latter, was to come from the West, and their expectation involved no anticipation of the political supremacy of the strangers.

While these items lead us to no decisive results, they still present a series of interesting coincidences, which it would be unwise to overlook. We presume that no one will object to the conclusions stated by our author at the close of a very valuable excursus, in the Appendix,—to wit: "That the coincidences are sufficiently strong to authorize the belief that the civilization of Anahuac was, in some degree, influenced by that of Eastern Asia; and, that the discrepancies are such as to carry back the communication to a very remote period; so remote, that this foreign influence has been too feeble to interfere materially with the growth of what may be regarded, in its essential features, as a peculiar and indigenous civilization."

We come now to the history and exploits of that extraordinary man, Hernando Cortés, who is the hero of the volumes before us. He was born at Medellin, a town in the south-east corner of Estremadura, in 1485. In his infancy he had a feeble constitution, which strengthened as he grew older. At the age of fourteen, he was sent to the university of Salamanca, his father proposing to educate him for the law. But after he had loitered away two years at college, he returned home, greatly to the disappointment of his parents. Here he spent a year, in an idle, reckless manner, too wilful to be guided by others, and proposing no object to himself. When,

therefore, at the age of seventeen, he manifested an inclination to join the army, attracted by the life of adventure to which the military profession in that age was sure to lead, "his parents, probably thinking a life of hardship and hazard abroad, preferable to one of idleness at home, made no objection."

The New World, where gold and glory were to be won, and whose very dangers, clothed with an air of romance and chivalry, were adapted to fascinate the adventurous cavalier, was not overlooked by young Cortés. The neighborhood of Seville and Cadiz, where he lived, was the focus of nautical enterprise; and, from among the ardent youth of that age, a tide was constantly setting thence towards the western hemisphere. Yielding himself to be borne along by this current, he soon found an opportunity of sailing in the expedition fitted out under Don Nicolas de Ovando, the successor of Columbus. An untoward accident, however, broke up his plans, and he was detained at home two years longer. But in 1504, he bade adieu to his native country, though a mere boy of nineteen, setting out to fulfil a destiny which marked him as one of the most consummate generals and remarkable men the world has ever produced.

The object of Cortés in sailing for America, was not to till the soil, like a peasant, but, in a more summary manner, by policy or conquest, to obtain gold. There was no opening, however, for his immediate gratification. He consented, therefore, to receive a grant of land, with the requisite number of Indian cultivators; and, in addition to this, he was appointed notary of the settlement of Açua. Here, the monotony of agricultural life was occasionally broken in upon by affairs of honor in which his love-intrigues involved him, and from which he carried away some dishonorable scars, and by, now and then, a skirmish with the Indians, when it became necessary to quell an insurrection. In the fulfilment of such services, he studied the tactics of Indian warfare, and treasured up knowledge, of which, afterwards, he had abundant opportunity to avail himself. An engagement of marriage with a young lady in Cuba, belonging to a family from Granada, in Old Spain, was the means of involving him in difficulty. This engagement he did not choose to fulfil. The lady's family, backed by the governor, Velasquez, remonstrated with him. And either this remonstrance, or

some other cause of disgust, rankling in the breast of Cortés, led him to become cold towards his former patron. He associated himself with a disaffected party in the island, who were accustomed to meet at his house to talk over their grievances. These malcontents at length determined to lay their complaints before the authorities of Hispaniola, from whom Velasquez received his commission. They made Cortés the commander of the hazardous expedition. But the news of the conspiracy came to the governor's ears before the departure of the envoy, whom he instantly caused to be seized, loaded with fetters, and kept in strict confinement. Cortés contrived, however, to escape from his shackles; and having obtained his liberty, he fled for refuge to a neighboring church, where he claimed the privilege of sanctuary. Velasquez would not violate the sanctity of the place by employing force; but he commissioned an officer to keep strict watch over Cortés, and apprehend him whenever, forgetting himself, he should leave his sanctuary. In a few days this event happened. Cortés was seized from behind, pinioned, and put on board a vessel, to be sent to Hispaniola for trial. But before the vessel sailed, he once more succeeded in loosing his fetters, and returned again to his sanctuary. For some reason not explained, he became reconciled to his rejected lady, and thus secured the influence of her family. The governor's resentment, also, was softened, and he became the friend of Cortés, who now retired to his estate, and devoted himself to agriculture, and the improvement of the breed of cattle in Cuba. About this time, tidings were received of the rich discoveries of Grijalva, the first navigator who set foot on the soil of Mexico, and opened an intercourse with the Aztecs. Grijalva, sent out by Velasquez with a squadron of four vessels, to examine the lands discovered accidentally by Hernandez de Cordova, and which proved to be the continent, having satisfied himself that he had reached the coasts of a mighty territory, after making a rich traffic with the natives, sent Alvarado to Cuba to inform Velasquez of his success. After a short time, he himself followed. But Velasquez, anxious to reap the utmost fruits of so promising a harvest, had already begun to fit out an expedition destined to that glorious *El Dorado*; and, lending a willing ear to his counsellors, he sent for Cortés and announced to him that he was to be Captain-General of the armada.

Cortés had now reached the summit of his wishes, the end for which he had panted ever since he came to the New World; he was to enjoy an independent theatre of action, where, assuming high responsibilities, he was to trust to his own wisdom and God's good providence alone to direct him. A boundless field of enterprise and wealth opened to his view. From the hour of his appointment, a change came over his deportment. He concentrated his attention on the great object to which he was devoted. All his money was spent in fitting out the armament. He raised large sums, also, by mortgaging his estates; and when his own credit failed, he availed himself of that of his friends. He procured adventurers to man his vessels, by offers of assistance to those who were too poor to provide for themselves, and by the promise of a liberal share of the spoils of conquest. A spirit of earnest enthusiasm was roused in the little town of St. Jago, where the expedition was fitted out. Every one seemed anxious to do something to promote its success. Six ships were procured, and three hundred recruits enrolled themselves as the companions of Cortés on his adventurous voyage.

The instructions, furnished to the armament by Velasquez, give a favorable view of his enlarged conceptions, and his upright and honorable motives.

"The great object of the expedition was barter with the natives. In pursuing this, special care was to be taken that they should receive no wrong, but be treated with kindness and humanity. Cortés was to bear in mind, above all things, that the object which the Spanish monarch had most at heart, was the conversion of the Indians. He was to impress on them the grandeur and goodness of his royal master, to invite them to 'give in their allegiance to him, and to manifest it by regaling him with such comfortable presents of gold, pearls and precious stones, as, by showing their own good-will, would secure his favor and protection.' He was to make an accurate survey of the coast, sounding its bays and inlets for the benefit of future navigators. He was to acquaint himself with the natural products of the country, with the character of its different races, their institutions and progress in civilization; and he was to send home minute accounts of all these, together with such articles as he should obtain in his intercourse with them. Finally, he was to take *the most careful care* to omit nothing that might redound to the service of God or his sovereign."

The religious injunctions contained in these directions are not the least interesting part of them. They gave the expedition the sacredness of a crusade. When the Spaniards came to join the natives in deadly conflict, they were constantly reminded, that they were fighting for the religion of the cross—that their contest was for the altar of God. And

faithfully did Cortés seek to carry out this part of his instructions. Father Olmedo found it difficult, in several cases, to restrain him from so early a proposal to baptize the idolatrous tribes into the Christian faith, as would have infallibly defeated the object. But the missionary aim of the expedition was destitute of the evangelical element. The fierce cavaliers of Spain, however loudly they could talk, or furiously fight, for the true faith, were men of different mould from the Puritans of New England; and the conversion of the natives was, under their auspices, quite another operation. So far as the Catholic church had an influence, at that period, it must have been a baleful influence. Its religion was formal; its faith, vain. It could only have recovered slowly from the pernicious rule of Alexander VI, and of his successor, Julius III, a wicked and warlike sovereign, who loved more the gratification of his ambition and his lusts, than the cause of the church, or the glory of God. The sale of indulgences had recently introduced a new tide of wickedness into the seats of spiritual power; and the degraded people, kept in ignorance of the great atonement by the blood of Christ, were led to believe that they could purchase a place in the celestial mansions by a few reals. Xavier, it is true, that holy man, arose, a few years later, out of the corrupt bosom of the same church. But the history of the Mexican expedition does not leave us for a moment to suppose that Father Olmedo was a Xavier; or that the baptized natives were, in respect to Christianity, a whit in advance of other unbaptized heathen.

After the armada was partly equipped, Velasquez was suddenly seized with a spirit of jealousy, lest his captain-general, when out of his reach, should throw off all allegiance to him. The embers of suspicion, through the influences about the court, were fanned into a flame. By the aid of his confidential advisers, Cortés discovered what was in the wind. Though poorly provided for sea, and without his complement of vessels or men, he resolved to sail that very night; "and at midnight, they all went quietly on board, while the town was hushed in sleep, and the little squadron dropped down the bay." Early in the morning, Velasquez rode down to the quay, resolved to arrest the flight of his fugitive. But the bird was already on the wing; the arrow had left the bow; and Velasquez was obliged to return

home, and "digest his chagrin as best he might." Cortés put in at Macaca, Trinidad and Havana, obtained such additional supplies as he needed, raised his standard at the two latter places for volunteers, and had the satisfaction to see recruits in sufficient numbers flock to his banner, anxious to cast in their lot with so popular and courageous a chieftain. When he had completed his arrangements, and was ready finally to sail for the continent, he had eleven vessels, one hundred and ten mariners, five hundred and fifty-three soldiers, and two hundred Indians of the island. He had also sixteen horses, which did him afterwards great service in his engagements. The natives, supposing horse and horseman together to constitute one mysterious being, capable of dealing deadly blows from above, and trampling down with his hoofs beneath, fled in terror from the terrific spectacle.

Having lingered for a short time at Cozumel, he proceeded, keeping as near as possible along the coast, to the "Rio de Tabasco, or Grijalva, in which that navigator had made so lucrative a traffic." Anxious to acquaint himself with the resources of the country, he determined to digress from his main purpose, so far as to ascend this river. He left his ships at the mouth of the river, and ascended in boats with a part only of his forces. But what was his surprise to find himself surrounded and attacked by hostile savages! He found himself driven to a fierce battle with them. And, notwithstanding their immense numbers, he made himself master of their principal town, of which he took formal possession in the name of his royal master, the king of Spain. The next day, however, a severer battle raged between the two contending parties. But in the end, the Indians were forced to submit, and Cortés, having thoroughly humbled them, departed.

The soldiers having returned to the ships, the fleet again set sail. They arrived on Thursday evening of Passion-week at the sheltered island of San Juan de Ulua, so named by Grijalva. The natives came off in light canoes, bringing presents and articles of traffic. Through Marina, a female slave, who was given to Cortés at Tabasco, a native Mexican of noble birth, and of much intelligence, he was able to converse with these natives, and to learn many things concerning the interior of the country, infinitely important to

his movements. He found that these people were subjects of the Aztec sovereign, Mochtezuma, commonly called by Europeans Montezuma, a powerful monarch residing on the mountain plateau in the interior, seventy leagues; and that their own province, a recent conquest of Montezuma, was governed by Teuhtlile, one of his nobles. He learned also that there was abundance of gold in the interior, of which the presents they had brought were specimens. Pleased with the manners of the people, and their favorable reports of the wealth of the country, he disembarked on the sandy shore, at the spot which has since become the flourishing city of Vera Cruz, and made preparations for a settlement. After two days, he received a visit from Teuhtlile, the governor, to whom he made known his object in visiting the country, and affirmed that the king of Spain, acquainted with the greatness of the Mexican emperor, "had sent him as his envoy to wait on Montezuma, with a present in token of his good-will, and a message which he must deliver in person." He concluded by asking when he could be admitted to the emperor's presence. Teuhtlile promised to send couriers to the capital with the royal gift, and, as soon as he learned Montezuma's will, to communicate it. During the interview between Cortés and Teuhtlile, Cortés observed one of the attendants of the latter, busy with his pencil. On examining the canvass, he found that it was a sketch of the Spaniards, their dress, their arms, their ships, their troops and cavalry, and of every thing which was capable of being portrayed, the painter giving to each its appropriate form and color, in a manner that excited the admiration of the Spaniards. This picture-writing was the communication designed to be sent to Montezuma, to apprise him of the arrival and character of the strangers. Cortes embraced the opportunity to give the assembled multitude a specimen of the power of his ordnance. The terrific thunder and flame, issuing from the brazen throats of the cannon, and the rushing sound of the balls, dashing through the trees of the neighboring forest, and shivering their branches into fragments, were plainly not lost upon the governor or his subjects.

Circumstances had already transpired to weaken the empire of Mexico. Montezuma himself, a priest as well as king, had of late devoted himself much more to his sacerdotal duties than

to the regal. The empire, in the earlier years of his reign, had been much extended, by the conquest of remote provinces. But, as insurrections and revolts were continually occurring in them, it was necessary to employ one part of the realm in war against another,—a necessity producing division and weakness, and not consolidation, harmony, and strength. The haughtiness of the monarch created a disgust among the citizens, which was increased by exorbitant taxation. A general impression prevailed in the time of Montezuma, that the prophetic race of white men, under the direction of the deity Quetzalcoatl, were about to take possession of the government. Many wonderful prodigies appeared, signs in heaven above and in the earth beneath, which strengthened this impression. When Grijalva and his companions landed on the coast in the preceding year, the apprehension that the sceptre was now to pass from the hand of the Aztecs filled him with alarm. Though he was relieved by the departure of that adventurer, he thenceforth stationed sentinels on all the heights. And when the Spaniards returned under Cortés, he, doubtless, received the earliest notice of the unwelcome event, and, in a spirit of despair, adopted measures which, instead of saving his kingdom, only hastened its destruction. He unwisely determined to send to Cortés a magnificent present, and at the same time forbid his approach to the capital; a scheme, which, at a single stroke, exhibited his wealth and weakness, kindling the desire of the Spaniards by the luxurious baubles which he transmitted, and encouraged an attack, by tacitly assuring them, through his prohibition, of his inability to defend his treasures.

The present of Montezuma arrived in a few days at the camp of Cortés,—a gorgeous index of the wealth of the capital from which it came. The envoys, however, were charged by their royal master to say, that the distance of the capital was so great, and the way thither encompassed by so many difficulties and dangers, that the journey was impossible; and that nothing remained for the Spaniards but to return to their own land, laden with the proofs of his friendly disposition. But Cortés was not so easy to be put off. He sent back by the messengers an additional present, with the assurance that it would be impossible for him to appear before his sovereign, without having accomplished this great object of his mission; and that, having braved the perils of two thousand leagues of

ocean, he should deem the fatigues of so short a journey by land as nothing. After the lapse of ten days, the Mexican envoys returned to the camp, bringing from Montezuma substantially the same answer as before. This roused the indignation of Cortés, who was more decided than ever to prosecute his march, till he should stand before the emperor in his capital, and have the opportunity to call him to account, face to face

About this time, five Indians came into the camp one morning, whose dress and whole appearance were different from those of the Mexicans. Two of them could converse with Dona Marina in the Aztec tongue. From these, it was learned that the strangers were from Cempoalla, the chief town of the Totonacs, a powerful nation recently conquered by the Aztecs, and vexed to the last degree under their oppressive yoke. This town was said to contain from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. The fame of the Spaniards had reached their chief, who sent these envoys to request the presence of the wonderful strangers in his capital. In a short time, Cortés set out on his march to Cempoalla at the head of his troops, where he was so fortunate as to secure the whole tribe as his auxiliaries; Cortés, glad to accept their aid in the accomplishment of his own purposes, and the Totonacs, feeling themselves rich in having the support and guidance of these mysterious and mighty men, to humble the pride of their conquerors.

While Cortés sojourned in this city, five Aztec commissioners made their annual visit to receive the tribute of the Totonacs. They also represented that the Aztec emperor was highly incensed by their hospitable reception of the Spaniards, and demanded, as an expiation, twenty young men and women for sacrifice. Cortés insisted that they should not only decline to accede to the demand, but that they should bind the commissioners, hand and foot, and cast them into prison. But he afterwards secretly secured their liberation, and represented to Montezuma that he had delivered them from the cruel hands of the Totonacs, from his special regard for the Aztec emperor,—a stratagem which was not without its designed effect.

Bent on his main object, Cortés pursued his journey towards the capital of Mexico. On his path, he had a severe engagement with the fierce republic of Tlascala,

which, had it continued but a little longer, would have proved fatal to the Spanish forces. But, after hard-fought battles, in which the enemy met with immense losses, the Tlascalans, Mexico's most formidable foe, yielded to the superior skill of the civilized warriors, and the republic became the ally of Cortés.

Montezuma still watched the progress of the Spanish forces towards the capital. He rejoiced to learn that they had taken the direction of Tlascala, not doubting but they would here find their graves. But, on learning that they had humbled the Tlascalans, instead of perishing by their hands, he saw new grounds of alarm. His fears were confirmed, that these were the people by whom he was to be robbed of the sceptre of his dominion. He sent another embassy, informing Cortés that the capital was at present in a state of insubordination, such that his safety would be endangered. When Cortés scouted at this miserable apology, the ambassadors changed their tune, and, in the name of their master, offered a tribute to the Castilian sovereign, provided the Spaniards would relinquish their visit to his capital. But Cortés was inexorable. Having taken the precaution to secure the friendship of the tribes in his rear, or to cripple their ability to harm him in case he should be driven to retreat, he pursued his march towards the capital. Montezuma continued to send remonstrances, and Cortés continued to reject them. His last effort was pusillanimously "to bribe the return of the Spaniards, by promising, in that event, four loads of gold to the general, and one to each of the captains, with a yearly tribute to their sovereign." All other efforts having proved unavailing, he shut himself up in his palace, refused food, and sought relief in prayer and sacrifice. But the oracles were dumb. Hecatombs bled in vain. The dreaded forces continued to advance. It was on the eighth of November, 1519, that the Spanish army entered Mexico, the capital of the western world. On their way to the city, they were met by several hundred Aztec chiefs, who came out to announce that Montezuma was about to meet the Spaniards and welcome them to his capital. Montezuma, at length, appeared. He wore the girdle and square cloak of his nation. His sandals had soles of gold, and the leather thongs that secured them to his feet were embossed with the same metal. The cloak and sandals were sprinkled with

pearls and precious stones. On his head he wore a *panache* of plumes of royal green, which floated down his back, the badge of military rank. Montezuma received Cortés with princely courtesy, declaring that he was happy to see him in his capital. He assigned him his quarters in a palace in the city, the apartments of which were of great size, affording accommodation for the whole army. All necessary provision was made for the necessities of the Spanish forces. And Montezuma, dropping some natural tears, acknowledged the power of the king of Spain, as the rightful lord of all his dominions; confessed that he ruled in his name; and bade Cortés and his soldiers rest in their present quarters, and share his goods with him.

Here, then, Cortés, for the present, was fixed; at home in the capital which he designed to take by conquest; in a position, in respect to the Aztec prince, which would not admit of hostilities; and yet, living on a kind of sufferance, he was nearly as much Montezuma's prey, as Montezuma was his. His first object was to obtain permission from the emperor to visit the various parts of the capital, with the design, which he did not reveal, of becoming acquainted with its various localities, and its capabilities of resistance in case of an attack. After this, he contrived a flimsy pretext for desiring Montezuma to change his quarters from his own palace to the residence of the Spaniards. It was represented as only a temporary arrangement, involving no dishonor, nor depriving him of any authority among his subjects. But Montezuma felt the indignity involved in submission. Under the influence of a threatening speech, however, from one of the Spaniards, seeing the step inevitable, oppressed by emotion which it was vain for him to attempt to stifle, he consented to leave his palace, to which he was no more to return. Shortly after, in order still more to humble his imperial captive, Cortés found occasion to place his feet in irons, and to leave him, thus degraded, to his own heart-rending reflections. After a few hours, the general ordered the fetters removed; and the monarch, whose frown, but a few days before, would have spread dismay among the remotest tribes of Anahuac, now thanked this foreign soldier for freedom, as if it had been a great and unmerited boon. Cortés, also, gave him liberty to return to his own palace. But, fearing, probably, to meet the ferocious lords whom he had

so deeply offended by his tame submission to the invader, he chose to remain where he could enjoy the protection of the Spaniards. Step by step, Cortés advanced in subduing his royal prisoner. At one time, he induced him to summon together the caciques of his empire, and to procure from them the oath of allegiance to the crown of Castile. At another, his own commissioners were sent forth into the provinces with Spanish envoys, to receive the annual tribute, to be transmitted to the king of Spain. And, last of all, Cortés, judging that the time had come to strike a decisive blow against the superstitions of the country, and in favor of the creed of the Romish church, requested of Montezuma that the great temple should be given up, its rites abolished, and the worship of the true cross substituted, in the sight of all the city. This last request was too much for the fallen emperor to endure. He had bowed to the heavy yoke of personal indignity; but when it was proposed to cast down the altars and abolish the worship of his gods, a string was touched whose mighty vibrations could not easily be allayed. Montezuma sternly declined the proposal. His spirit, broken and oppressed as it had been, still showed signs of vitality. He felt that he was a lord in his own realm, and that he had subjects under his control, who would start up for vengeance at his nod. He assured Cortés that he had only to speak, and every Aztec in the land would rise up in arms against the Spaniards. And he entreated him, for his own safety, to leave the country with the least possible delay.

While preparations were making for this evacuation, or what the emperor took to be preparations (for such a design was probably far enough from the thoughts of Cortés), a sudden emergency called the Spanish general towards the coast. During his absence, the Aztecs in the city rose upon the garrison, which was with difficulty defended till his return. Immediately after this, mustering all their force, they attacked the Spanish army; and, goaded by a spirit of indignation and bitter revenge, they fought with the fury of wild beasts. Assault followed assault, until the necessity of leaving the city to its Mexican proprietors was no longer a matter of doubt. The flight, however, was one of deep disaster to the Spaniards. They met with infinite difficulty from the destruction of the causeways and bridges. The Aztecs hung on their flanks and rear, continually annoying them; and, in

the course of their progress, it was necessary, with great loss, to cut their way through troops upon troops of bloodthirsty assailants. Never was there a more terrific specimen of war in all its sanguinary and immitigable ferocity.

In the course of the disastrous occurrences which preceded the evacuation of the city, Montezuma appeared in a conspicuous place, by request of the Spaniards, and exhorted the Aztecs to stay the tide of destruction, which was rolling over the devoted race, whom, even then, he weakly acknowledged as not his masters, but his guests. At first they manifested the most profound respect, and looked upon him with the reverence that was due to his ancient rank and glory. But when he made this pusillanimous avowal, they broke out in contemptuous reproaches, exclaiming in angry confusion, "Base Aztec, woman, coward, the white men have made you a woman,—fit only to weave and spin!" This exclamation was followed by a shower of stones and missiles, one of which struck him on the head, and brought him senseless to the ground. On recovering from his insensibility, he perceived the degradation to which he had reduced himself, the tool of artful foreigners, and spurned even by his once trembling and awe-struck subjects. He tore off the bandages as often as they were applied to his wound, determined not to survive his disgrace, and died June 30, 1520, at the age of forty-one years.

The situation of Cortés and his army was now truly deplorable. Such a reverse, a few days before, was by no means to have been expected. But it had come. The object of their ambition, the capture of the rich city of the Aztecs, and the supreme dominion over its golden territory, was just within their grasp, when suddenly a whirlwind of adversity rushed over them, and their budding hopes faded away. They had defeat, instead of dominion, and, instead of conquest, ruin, despair, and death. But the indomitable spirit of Cortés rose above his misfortunes, and incited him to a new effort. He had learned, by his disasters, many lessons which were serviceable to him in preparing for a new campaign, and he immediately set about repairing his losses. One great instrument of his recent defeat was the destruction of the draw-bridges and causeways, connecting the city of Mexico with the main land. Hence, one of his first measures was to employ his trusty ship-carpenter, Martin Lopez,

with a sufficient number of workmen, to construct, with all convenient despatch, thirteen brigantines, the parts of which could be transported over land on the shoulders of men, and then put together and launched on the Tezcucan lake. Several vessels had been sent from the mother country, or from the West India islands, with provisions, men, and arms, before the reverses of Cortés had become known, which, providentially, fell in his way just at the necessary moment. He succeeded, in a not dishonorable manner, in appropriating their ammunition and provisions to his own use, and in persuading the men, with the promise of Aztec gold, in case he should be able to humble the imperial city, to enlist under his banner. He had, also, secured not only the continued friendship and aid of the Tlascalans, but the alliance of other tribes, on whom he could depend for sustenance in a second expedition. Strengthened by his new recruits, and flushed with hope, he set out on his march for the imperial city the latter part of December, about six months from the time of his disastrous flight. Cortés had determined not to enter Mexico, till his brigantines were ready to be launched upon the lake. In the meantime, he took up his quarters in Tezcuco, a city whose size and wealth furnished ample provision for his accommodation; and whose proximity to the capital also gave him opportunity to ascertain the movements of the Mexicans. To this city the parts of his vessels were to be brought, to be put together; and, as it stood half a league distant from the lake, 8000 Indian laborers were set to work to deepen a small rivulet which flowed in that direction, sufficiently to permit them to float from the city to their proper element. He embraced an opportunity which offered of sending a message to Guatemozin, the successor of Montezuma, informing him that if the Mexicans would return to their allegiance to the Spanish crown, the authority of the emperor should be confirmed, and the persons and property of his subjects respected. But the proud young emperor deigned not to reply. His time, however, was approaching. The brigantines were completed, and arrived, at last, before Tezcuco. The coming of the convoy was hailed with every demonstration of joy. They had worked their way over steep eminences and rough mountain passes for a distance of twenty leagues. The procession extended over a space of two leagues; and so slow was the march, that six hours

elapsed, before the closing files entered the city. During the few weeks that remained, until the completion of his vessels, Cortés was engaged in short excursions, in which he sought to reduce the cities most nearly dependent on the capital, and to inform himself of the condition and resources of the latter. In these excursions, he had some severe engagements with the enemy. He found that they had acquired a spirit of stern defiance, and would, probably, yield not a step except as they were driven to it. On the 28th of April, the brigantines were launched,—an event which Cortés made the occasion of a solemn festival.

His next step was to muster all his forces. These consisted of 87 horse, and 818 foot. Three hundred of the men were sent to man the vessels, and his Indian allies were notified to supply the promised number of auxiliary troops. He distributed his army into three divisions, which were to advance upon the capital over the three causeways, leading to it in opposite directions from the main land. The dikes were covered with clouds of Indian warriors, prepared to resist the progress of the Spanish forces; and the surface of the lake was darkened with canoes, filled with fierce Aztecs. The brigantines, however, by a well-directed fire, not only scattered the canoes, but also defended the passage of the causeway. On entering the principal street of the city, Cortés found himself annoyed by warriors stationed in the houses. Accordingly he ordered the Indian pioneers to level the principal buildings as they advanced. The Spanish soldiery, though sternly resisted by the Mexican militia, and occasionally hindered by an open canal or a stone breast-work, advanced till they reached the great square of the city, spreading consternation among its palaces. Day after day, they renewed the attack, and still found the Aztec soldiers, true to the fierce spirit of an indomitable warrior, fresh for determined opposition. Guatemozin not only gave proof of his military skill by engaging the Spaniards in each of their detachments, by a simultaneous attack, but, by driving piles into the lake, he, in one instance, decoyed two of the smallest vessels into a position, in which most of the men on board were wounded or slain, and one of the vessels fell—a useless prize—into the hands of the Indians. Famine and pestilence entered into the city, with a power more to be dreaded than the weapons of contending armies. On one occasion, a por-

tion of the Spanish army having ventured too far, in their zeal to pursue the enemy, were suddenly surrounded, and suffered a terrible defeat. The prisoners taken were offered up on the Aztec altars, a most acceptable sacrifice to the war-god, who, it was supposed, after such propitiation, would be more propitious. Some of the allies of Cortés, also, discouraged by their protracted fatigues and dangers, deserted him and left the city. But nothing daunted, Cortés, seeing that there was no hope of an accommodation with Guatemozin, came, with reluctance, to the determination to lay waste the city as the army advanced, by an utter destruction. For weeks, this devastating process went on. Nearly every day witnessed the streaming of the blood of warriors, the burning of palaces, and heard the groans of the wounded and the famished. Guatemozin, however, still held out. He saw that the invincible spirit of Cortés would not be allayed, until every building in the capital should be demolished, and every Aztec put to the sword. At last, "after a siege of nearly three months' duration, unmatched in history, for the constancy and courage of the besieged, seldom surpassed for the severity of its sufferings, fell the renowned capital of the Aztecs."

Cortés had done the great work of his life. In the scenes which have been described, he had built an enduring monument to his memory. The thrilling occupations of these years in New Spain leave upon the mind an impression which almost forbids it to pursue his history, however full of valuable services. He died at Castilleja de la Cuesta, in Old Spain, Dec. 2, 1547, in the 63d year of his age.

ARTICLE V.

THE POWER OF THE PRESS.

BY REV. J. M. PECK.

IN the latter half of the thirteenth century, in England, the daily wages of a common laborer were three half-pence, and the price of a copy of the Bible, neatly written out, was about thirty pounds sterling. At that period, it would have cost a man about sixteen years' labor to purchase a Bible.

And then, it would have been a sealed book to him ; for but few persons were able to read.

In 1465, a stranger, by the name of FAUST, appeared in Paris with copies of the word of God, which he sold so cheap and in such numbers, as to excite astonishment and alarm. "All Paris became agitated and perplexed, both on account of the number of books produced, and the uniformity of them in letters, words, and pages. He was accused of magic, and his lodgings searched by the police. Several Bibles were found ; and the red ink, with which the large letters at the beginning of each book were formed, was pronounced to be his own blood ; proof direct that he was in league with the devil ! Faust fled, and escaped death, which in that age awaited the hapless victim of superstition. The secret art was made known. An agency had been discovered which could multiply copies of books with astonishing facility and cheapness, and to a boundless extent. This agency was the Art of Printing. This secret was the **POWER OF THE PRESS,**—**FOR GOOD OR FOR EVIL.**

At the period of this discovery, moral darkness covered all Christendom, and the priesthood and the people were deeply buried in ignorance and superstition. The spirit of religion was the spirit of despotism. The truths of the Bible were lost among a mass of idolatrous, or unmeaning ceremonies. The merits of Christ were regarded as an empty tale ; and indulgences, bought of the Pope's legate, procured the pardon of all sins, past and future, and opened the gates of eternal life to the most profligate. The intercession of the Virgin Mary, blasphemously called the "Mother of God," infinitely transcended ; and that of saints fully equalled, the intercession of Christ. "Then the chantings resounded, the bells rang to drive away the evil spirits, the odor of incense filled the churches, sacrifices were offered up, and masses were said and sung for the wicked dead. Relics were farmed out, and wandering pedlers carried them from city to city, from castle to castle. One church had a fragment of Noah's ark ; another, some soot from the furnace of the three Hebrew children, and another, a piece of the cradle of Christ. Three or four heads of John the Baptist, and as many of Paul the Apostle, were shown as sacred relics in the churches. Profaneness, buffoonery, and gross heathenism filled all the land on festival occasions. Public and private

morals had disappeared with the faith of the gospel. Proficiency and wickedness, of the grossest kind, pervaded every order of the priesthood, from that incarnation of crime, Pope Alexander VI, down to the obscurest curate. Vice was the general character, and virtue the exception, in all the clergy. The evil spread through all ranks; a horrid infatuation filled the minds of men, and the "mystery of iniquity" wrought in all its fulness. The eye of God looked down on the scene with indignation and pity.

In the early part of the sixteenth century (1517), an obscure monk nailed to the church door of Wittemberg, a paper, containing ninety-five theological propositions. This document assailed the fundamental errors of the times, tore open the garnished sepulchres of the papal hierarchy, exposed their loathsome abominations, and shook the throne of spiritual despotism to its deepest foundations. Had this bold act been done fifty years earlier, it would only have procured the death-warrant of the author. But Providence had prepared the instrumentality necessary to effect a reformation of both faith and morals, and break up the accumulated superstitions of many centuries. The seeds of truth received wings, and were scattered amongst all the nations of western and middle Europe. The press spread the theses of Luther like lightning. A contemporary historian says, "In the space of a fortnight, they had spread over Germany, and within a month they had gone through all Christendom, as if angels themselves had been the bearers of them to all men."* This tract "shook the very foundations of proud Rome; threatened with instant ruin the walls, gates and pillars of the Papacy; stunned and terrified its champions, and at the same time awakened from the slumber of error, many thousands of minds."† D'Aubigné says, "If we except Switzerland, where the preaching of the gospel had been already heard, the arrival of the Doctor of Wittemberg's writings every where forms the first page in the History of the Reformation. A printer at Basle scattered the first germs of truth. At the moment when the Roman pontiff thought to stifle the work in Germany, it began to manifest itself in France, the Low Countries, Italy, Spain, England and Switzerland. Even though the power of Rome should fell the parent stem, the seeds of truth are henceforth abroad

* Myconius, Hist. Ref., p. 23, from D'Aubigné.

† Ibid.

in all lands." The press was the mighty engine, provided by Omniscience, for this great work. The works of Luther, by this instrumentality, were spread into all parts. The historian observes, "Three printing-presses were incessantly employed in multiplying copies of his various writings. His discourses passed from hand to hand, through the whole nation, supporting the agitated penitent at the confessional, —giving courage to the faltering convert in the cloister,—and asserting the claims of evangelic truth, even in the abodes of princes."

The New Testament was translated into German, and given to the nation through the press. In about ten years, and by the middle of the sixteenth century, fifty-eight editions were printed and circulated. The Old Testament soon followed, and was issued in numbers, "to make the purchase easy to the poor, who caught at the sheets given to the world, as a letter coming to them from heaven."

A tract, entitled, *Loci Communes*, was published by Melancthon, in 1521. It exhibited theology as a "system of devotion;" and, in seventy-four years, it passed through sixty-seven editions, besides translations. This tract served to establish the people in evangelical doctrine. The spell of popular ignorance was now broken; and the impulse which the Reformation gave to literature in Germany was great.

In 1517, only thirty-seven publications were issued; in 1523, four hundred and ninety-eight came from the press. The colporteur system had its origin in this period. The historian observes, "Whatever works Luther and his friends composed, others disseminated far and wide. Monks who were too ignorant to be able themselves to proclaim the word of God, traversed the provinces, and, visiting the hamlets and cottages, sold them to the people." Germany was, ere-long, overrun with these enterprising colporteurs. The efforts to suppress these writings increased the eagerness of the people to possess them; and when bought, they were read with redoubled ardor. By similar means, translations of Luther's works were circulated in France, Spain, England and Italy. In Switzerland, Zuingle employed a colporteur, by the name of Lucian, "to go from city to city, from town to town, from village to village, nay, from house to house, all over Switzerland, carrying with him the writings of Luther. To this expedient was many a Swiss family indebted for the gleam

of light, that found entrance into their humble dwelling." In France, the same work was prosecuted with success. The presses at Basle multiplied French books, and colporteurs distributed them throughout France. "Poor men, of good character for piety, bearing their precious burdens, went through towns and villages, from house to house, knocking at every door."

Thus the press was the engine, specially prepared by Providence, to accomplish the reformation in Europe. Without this instrumentality, we see not how Luther and his coadjutors could have succeeded.

The efforts of the papal power to suppress and even to annihilate the writings of the reformers, show that the enemies of truth were not insensible to the power of this instrumentality. Tetzels, engaged in the sale of indulgences, became alarmed at the circulation of Luther's writings, and denounced "punishment and disgrace in this world, and condemnation at the great day, to those who scribbled so many books and tracts, and to those who took pleasure in their writings, and circulated them amongst the people." The Imperial Diet of Germany ratified the decree of the Emperor, Charles V, to destroy the writings of Luther. This mandate was addressed to all princes and prelates, "to burn, or in other ways, utterly destroy them. The bull of the pope, approved by the college of cardinals, enjoined on "the bishops to search diligently for the writings of Martin Luther, and to burn them, publicly and solemnly, in the presence of the clergy and of the laity." Cardinal Wolsey and the dignitaries of England marched in solemn procession to St. Paul's church to burn these fruits of the press. At a later period, Louis XIV, of France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, sent his soldiers throughout the kingdom, to destroy all evangelical writings, and fearfully did they succeed! The press is the organ of light; and well do the powers of darkness dread its influence!

The puritan age of England, and the agency of the press in sustaining and spreading abroad evangelical religion, by the writings of Bunyan, Baxter, and a host of others, furnishes another illustration of its efficiency. Its instrumentality in the promotion of civil liberty and political freedom has not been less, than its power in producing emancipation from spiritual despotism.

But this mighty agent can be employed for evil as well as for good. Of this fact, we derive abundance of proof and illustration from the history of France during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The atheism, blood, licentiousness and horror of the French revolution are to be traced to the demoralizing influence of the press during that period.

The preliminary measures of Louis XIV, in destroying all evangelical writings and books of the reformers, opened the way for the impiety, blasphemy and licentiousness of Voltaire and his associates. To say nothing of the gigantic Encyclopædia, and other works of literature and science, imbued with atheism for the learned, the millions of pamphlets, ballads and prints, which were poured like a desolating flood over the kingdom, swept away, with the mass of superstition and imposture, the remains of truth, piety and virtue. The public conscience was destroyed, unbridled passions were let loose, and anarchy, and the "reign of terror" followed. The press was like a tiger unchained; for its power to work evil, in the hands of impiety and fanaticism, was tenfold greater than when employed in the cause of truth and righteousness. The influence of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, and a host of atheistical fanatics, would have never reached beyond the sphere of their personal action, without this agency. The press gave wings to their productions, wafted them across the British channel, spread the infidelity of France into England, and ever since has scattered their poisonous writings through the United States, and into every land. "Paine might have lived and died, the drunken infidel that he was, and his memory and influence have perished with him, without dragging down thousands to share his miserable doom, but for the mysterious agent that still heralds his infidelity and his shame."

In contrasting the influence of the press for good and for evil, we must keep in view the doctrine of the depraved tendencies of human nature. The Bible doctrine of the fall, and the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," receives confirmation in all the history of the human species. The moral tendency is downward, under a fearful impulse. The superadded power of an atheistic and vicious press, as exemplified in its productions in France, gave a frightful acceleration to human depravity and guilt. It may have been permitted by an inscrutable Providence, that this fearful engine, in the hands

of bad men, should give such an illustration of depravity, in order to show what man would become, when freed from the restraints of the Bible, of conscience, of law, and of God!

Conjoined with the elements and working of the French revolution, there was an unseen hand, directing and preparing a series of subordinate agencies to roll back the fearful tide of moral desolation, and employ this potent enginery for blessed and glorious purposes. It has been affirmed repeatedly, that the distribution of the small pamphlets, licentious and blasphemous in character, in France and Germany, by the agents of the "*Illuminati*," furnished the hint to the friends of evangelical truth in England to employ small tracts for its defence and propagation.

But before we enter on the power of the religious press, as employed during the present century, let us glance at the extent of its influence in general literature, in both Europe and America. Upon an investigation a few years since, it was found that there were about one hundred and forty publishing houses in the United States, and not far from eight thousand different books, foreign and American, on the trade-lists. The average annual issues of volumes from the presses of our country, during the three years, 1833, 1834 and 1835, was about five hundred different works. In Great Britain, there were about 1200; in France, 5000; in Germany, 6000.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS.

For the following synopsis we are indebted to a pamphlet issued by the American Tract Society, entitled "*Proceedings of a Deliberative Meeting of the Board and Friends of the American Tract Society, held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, October 25—27, 1842.*"

"In 1832, the political and miscellaneous newspapers of the country numbered about 1200. In 1836, they were about 1500. In the two States of New York and Massachusetts together, with a population of less than 3,000,000, there was published a greater number of newspapers than in Great Britain, with a population of more than 25,000,000.

"The five New England States, together with New York and Pennsylvania, embracing a population of less than 6,000,000, issue more than 750 newspapers, nearly as many as all Great Britain and France united, with their population of 56,000,000. In the city of New York, 30 out of the 40 newspaper establishments circulated annually more than 30,000,000 papers. And, estimating the entire issues from that city, they were found considerably greater than those in the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

"Our 900 weekly, 40 semi-weekly, 14 tri-weekly, and more than 100 daily papers, allowing to each a subscription list of only 1000 copies, made a grand aggregate of nearly 100,000,000 sheets a year for 18,000,000 people.

"Great Britain, according to the returns of the stamp-office in 1836, issued less than 37,000,000 for her 25,000,000 of population.

"Our religious newspapers and periodicals, numbering nearly 100, circulated from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 copies a year.

"Ninety semi-monthly, monthly, and quarterly magazines sent forth annually more than ninety millions of pages. A million of penny papers a month in our large cities, were swelling the tide of influence from the daily press. Some 500 different ballads and songs, floating among the masses that form the substratum of society in our cities and seaboard towns, told full well their tale, and sufficiently explained why, in one class at least of our citizens, the Sabbath and the sanctuary, the civil laws and the sanctions of religion, impose so little restraint upon the passions and the vices of men.

"In short, it was perfectly evident, from the statistics collected, that our country was most emphatically distinguished among all nations of the earth, in the extent of the issues and the all-pervading influence of the press.

"In Europe, with a population of 227,000,000, according to statistical tables in the '*Annales des Travaux*' of the Paris Statistical Society, drawn up by M. Balbi, the distinguished geographer, there were reported to be 2100 periodical publications. And in our own continent, with 39,000,000 of population, there were 2200.

"According to these tables, the known number of newspapers and journals issuing for the 900,000,000 of the population of the world, was 4500; of which nearly one half were appropriated to less than 40,000,000 of the inhabitants of our own continent.

"In Asia, there was one paper for every 14,000,000; in Africa, one for 5,000,000; in Europe, one for 106,000; in America, one for 40,000; in the United States, one for 10,000.

"From whatever point the subject is viewed, the extent and importance of the power of the press of our country was forced upon the mind. Newspapers and periodicals of every kind, pamphlets, ballads, and books of all sorts, were evidently distributed among all classes of our people, with a profusion unparalleled in any other country or age.

"From 2000 to 3000 editors, together with a large corps of authors, compilers, printers, and publishers, connected with all these operations, were exerting a daily and almost hourly influence over the opinions, the principles, and the conduct of a nation, with which it was not easy to find any thing to compare in the history of the world."

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

The facts exhibited in reference to the power of the press, lead to the conclusion, that God has provided this instrumentality for accomplishing the great and glorious purposes of his kingdom. It was brought into operation at a period when just such an agency was necessary, to break up the strong and deep foundations of civil and spiritual despotism in Europe. Its utmost influence was permitted to bear against

truth and righteousness, in France and Germany, at the most eventful period in European history, that the triumph of the gospel might be the more signal and glorious, and the agency of God more distinctly seen, in its successful application for the noblest and wisest purposes. This may be perceived by a glance at the productions of the religious press, since the commencement of the present century.

In 1799, the "London Religious Tract Society" was instituted, which has become the parent of a vast progeny of tract and book societies, for religious purposes. During the first year of its operations, thirty-four tracts were issued, including 200,000 copies. At the end of the second year, the series of tracts numbered sixty-one, and the copies put into circulation within the year were 800,000; during the third year, 1,000,000; the fourth year, 1,400,000; and the fifth year, 1,700,000 copies were distributed. In 1824, its issues were 10,000,000 copies, including 532 different publications, and some of these had been translated and published in forty-two different languages and dialects. During the year 1842, the issues of this single Society were twenty millions of copies of books and tracts; making a weekly issue of 384,600, and a daily circulation of 64,000 copies. The whole number of books and tracts, issued since the Society was instituted, is 377,000,000; besides those circulated by numerous auxiliaries, and independent societies, in Great Britain, on the continent of Europe, and in other parts of the globe.

The Society in England for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was chartered by the British Parliament in 1647. We have no means of knowing the result of its labors for the first 150 years of its existence. From the first volume of the *Christian Observer*, 1802, we learn that it had circulated many books and tracts, previous to that time. In 1804, it circulated 103,000 copies; in 1811, 130,000; and in 1823, its issues had increased to 1,500,000 copies annually.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, the first of the kind, was instituted in 1804. The issues of books from the home depository, for the year ending in 1842, was 587,544 copies; and from depôts abroad, 231,107; making a total of 815,551 copies in a year; and since the organization of the Society, in thirty-eight years, an aggregate of more than 14,000,000 copies. The issues from the depôt in Paris, since 1820, have been about 1,700,000 copies.

The American Bible Society issued, last year, 216,605 copies of Bibles and Testaments; and, since the formation of the Society, in 1816, an aggregate of 3,269,678 copies.

The American and Foreign Bible Society, in four years, have printed 54,975 copies.

We have no means at hand of exhibiting the aggregate of issues by all other Bible societies in the last forty years. Probably their issues amount to 7,000,000 copies, making, in the aggregate, about 24,000,000 Bibles and Testaments, by societies, exclusive of the circulation through private publishing houses.

The American Tract Society, and its auxiliaries, in eighteen years, have issued 68,000,000 copies of books and tracts. Of this amount, the issues of last year were 157,478 bound volumes. These issues, in the United States, include about 100 bound volumes, and 460 separate tracts, some of which have been published in ten different languages. This is exclusive of the tracts printed and circulated in heathen lands, from the funds of the Society.

We have not the means before us of showing the number of books issued by the London Sunday School Union, the American Sunday School Union, and other institutions for similar purposes. In six years, the American Sunday School Union put into circulation about 600,000 volumes, which is an average of 275 books in a day, or twelve books each hour. The distribution of Sabbath school literature, during the present century, must have been several millions of volumes.

Divine Providence, in conducting these operations, together with the immense business of the secular press, has made extraordinary provision for enlargement. About the commencement of Sabbath school, tract and Bible efforts, the art of stereotyping was added to that of printing. This furnished facilities for the manufacture of an unlimited number of copies of the same book, at a cheaper rate. But, then, the "Ram-ge press," which had been used for centuries, was wholly inadequate to the task of multiplying copies equal to the demand. Printing machines were then invented, and brought into use. Then the slow and laborious method of manufacturing paper by manual labor was wholly inadequate to the demand of the stereotype foundry and the power-press. But, behold, in the all-productive providence of God, a paper machine is contrived, by which, with wonderful facility, the

supply of that material is fully equal to the demand of the printer. The intelligent and reflecting Christian will look on this advancement in the arts, in giving vast facilities to the original power of the press, as the result of infinite wisdom and goodness, in providing for the wants of a perishing world. Forty years ago, it would have been impossible to print the publications now issued from the press annually; and even if the difficulty in respect to the printing had been surmounted, all the mills in Christendom could not have produced the paper now used.

We will now direct the attention of our readers to the specific operations of some of the religious societies of our country, in the use of the press, especially as connected with the colporteur system, in the distribution of books.

First, the Methodist Book Concern. The operations of this Society are far more extensive, and its capital larger than that of any other in the United States, which is engaged in publishing and circulating religious books. It was instituted more than sixty years since, at the first Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Philadelphia, by publishing a hymn book, and the Discipline of that church. These were followed by Fletcher's Checks, Wesley's Sermons and writings, and other works. The members of this communion have been called on, from time to time, for donations to the "Book Concern."

Not many years since, a proposition was made for raising one hundred thousand dollars of additional capital, to enable the Society to provide Bibles, tracts and Sunday school books, equal to the wants of that rapidly increasing sect. This call was met by a cheerful response from all parts of the United States. Again, at a later period, when their buildings, presses and stock in New York, were consumed by fire, appeals were made successfully to the sympathies of the denomination, and the buildings, presses and stock were replaced on a more enlarged scale. The rich have given their thousands, and the poor their mites to build up this Concern, which has been and will continue to be the right arm of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The religious papers of this body, entitled, the "Christian Advocate," planted in New York, Richmond, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Nashville, belong to this "Book Concern." Their aggregate weekly issues exceed 50,000 copies.

The Catalogue of the "Book Concern" shows about 350 volumes of their publications for general circulation, 468 volumes of juvenile books, and about 350 pamphlets or tracts; or nearly 1200 different publications. The capital invested in this "Concern," including real estate in New York and Cincinnati, printing materials, and stock at the depositories, stock *in transitu*, and in the hands of their colporteurs, cannot be much less than half a million of dollars. The sales annually, at wholesale prices, equal \$175,000.

The colporteur system of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is exceedingly simple, economical and efficient. Each minister in the "travelling connection," is a colporteur,—not by the force of ecclesiastical law,—but of a "ready mind." The travelling connection includes those who literally travel over circuits, and visit and preach to some ten, fifteen or twenty different congregations, and those whose labors, by being stationed in the congregations in cities and villages, and officiating with the same people each Sabbath, are analogous to those of a New England pastor. The number of ministers in the travelling connection is 3933, as reported on the Minutes of the Conferences for 1842. At least 3000 of these ministers are colporteurs, distributing Methodist books. Those who travel on horseback, as most of the circuit preachers do, in the Middle, Southern and Western States, carry supplies of books in their saddle-bags, and, in every congregation, and class, these supplies are at hand for sale. About twenty per cent. on sales are allowed as compensation for this service. More than twenty years since, on the frontiers of Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas, scarcely a religious book was to be found in the log cabins of the population, except Methodist books, from their publishing house in New York. They were shipped from that port to New Orleans; then performed the long and perilous voyage of that period, in the keel boat, to some remote landing on the upper rivers, were then transferred to the wagoner, and at some point inland, delivered to the circuit preacher, who, at his meetings, distributed them to the rude and scattered population. These people, thus early trained to read the books of their sect, were the germ of the present flourishing Methodist congregations of the West. This "Book Concern" is one of the great instrumentalities that has increased the numbers and the

moral power of the Methodist sect. It is this, more than any other part of their economy, that makes them one people. A Methodist in Maine and a Methodist on the Sabine, speak the same language, exercise similar trains of thought, and work in the same manner. No Protestant sect in our country has so much of what the French call the *esprit du corps*, as this sect. No one, who has not examined into the Methodist economy, and seen its practical working, can fully realize the effect wrought upon a vast religious population, by their reading the same books. A small per centage of the profits of this trade is appropriated to each Conference annually, and applied to the support of superannuated ministers, and the widows and orphans of deceased ministers of the travelling connection. There are thirty-two Conferences in the United States, and the dividend to each in 1842, was \$800; making an income from this source, in the aggregate, of \$25,600.

Secondly, the American Tract Society. A Society of a similar name to this had previously existed in Boston, formerly called the New England Tract Society. Its influence and labors were confined mostly to the New England States, and it is now the largest auxiliary of the one of which we are about to speak.

The American Tract Society was instituted in New York, in 1825. The number of publications now on the Society's list is 1069, including 138 volumes for our own country. Besides these, the Society has approved, for circulation in foreign missionary stations, 1850 different works, including 157 volumes.

The following extract from the last Annual Report will exhibit the amount printed and circulated.

"There have been printed during the year, 4,156,500 publications, including 174,500 volumes; and circulated 4,155,806 publications, or 80,806,460 pages, including 157,478 volumes, and 77,000 Christian Almanacs; making the whole number of publications circulated in eighteen years, 68,418,138, embracing 1,300,896,847 pages. The above issues are exclusive of the Society's periodical, Annual Reports, and occasional documents."

The most useful and efficient part of the labors of this Society is its

COLPORTEUR SYSTEM.

During the last year, 27 colporteurs, including four for the German population, have been employed by the Society.

They visited portions of fifteen States, supplied about 20,000 families each, gratuitously, with a religious book, and distributed about 750,000 pages of tracts. Several agents were also employed in addressing the churches, collecting funds, and distributing books.

The following extract is from the report made at a "Deliberative Meeting," held in New York, October, 1842, and is, by no means, an exaggerated account of the efficiency of the colporteur system.

"It is a noticeable fact, that missionaries occupy successively the more prominent and populous parts, trenching but slowly, in a region of rapid growth, upon the desolations of the country. This is natural and right; but it necessarily leaves the very destitute, scattered population, almost without a ray of light. Some system is indispensable, that goes out literally into the highways and hedges, and carries the bread of life to the famishing multitude, who either cannot or will not come to the gospel supper. It must be an itinerating system; for, especially in the newer settlements, the people live far apart, and cannot be brought together statedly to hear the word. It is for such a class,—the poor, the ignorant, the neglected population of our wide country, that the colporteur system is especially designed. It aims to carry a verbal message from Calvary to the ear, and a printed message to the eye of every one of these wanderers from God and his sanctuary. It will furnish an advance-guard, a corps of pioneers for the army of the Lord. It will keep pace with the onward wave of immigration, and minister to the spiritual wants of every newly formed household. It seeks to subdue the wild mountaineer by the presence of a Felix Neff, and to leave for his daily companionship, a Baxter or a Doddridge. And on what principle is the obligation enforced to send a missionary to the mountains of Lebanon or Neilgherry with his load of pious books, that does not demand a colporteur for the mountains of Kentucky? Why the plains of Siam, and not the barrens of Georgia, or the prairies of Missouri?

"There is a power of adaptation in the colporteur system, and a capacity for indefinite expansion, which fits it peculiarly for a country like ours. With sufficient discretion in the selection of men, every portion of the country and every class of the population may be approached, in the way best suited to the great object. No matter how various the languages or sects, each may be made to hear and read in his own tongue the wonderful story of redemption. There need be no limit, save that of pecuniary means, to the multiplication of men and books, to such an extent as to reach every unevangelized family now on the stage, within a reasonable period, with two of the most effective means of good, personal religious conversation, and the pious counsels of the best authors that have yet lived.

"The importance of the Society's volume circulation in families and congregations enjoying all the other means of grace, has been universally conceded; and it has received the favor and co-operation of pastors and churches in the most favored parts of the land, to an extent conferred on scarcely any other enterprise of the church. Can there be any more doubt that an incalculable service is done, by giving to domestic missionaries the aid of pious books, in all the families of their congregations?

And, especially, those congregations that enjoy the labors of a missionary only on alternate Sabbaths, or one Sabbath out of four or six. But there are hundreds of newly gathered and feeble churches, of various denominations, scattered over the land, which are without pastors, and, for want of men and means, must long continue so; is it not a blessed work for the Society to instal such men as Baxter, and Flavel, and Bunyan in such vacant pulpits, and by the presence of the colporteur, call into exercise whatever of active piety there may be, in co-operation with his labors for the unevangelized around them? Besides, a considerable portion of all who hear the gospel in the distant parts of the country, listen to that which is hortatory and uninstructional, from preachers employed in secular pursuits, six days of seven in each week. To such, the Bible and religious books, in simple and popular language, constitute an indispensable means of sound gospel instruction. Other means of supplying the appropriate books than the Society's travelling agencies, there are few or none; and if there were, the personal labor of the colporteur would be needed, to form and foster the desire to possess them. Were there no other benefit from the colporteur system than the facilities it affords in furnishing means of grace, and knowledge, and usefulness to professing Christians, in their dispersion, it would still be one of the most important enterprises in which the Society could engage.

"But it has a much wider reach. There are families and individuals here and there, in every part of the land, and especially in the sparsely settled States, existing in total ignorance of Christ and his salvation. Not a ray of light from above has ever dawned upon their spiritual vision. Not a message of mercy has ever reached their ear. The Sabbath brings no blessings to them. The sanctuary is an unknown place. Heathen in a Christian land! It is feared that the aggregate of such souls would equal the entire, unevangelized population abroad, reached directly by the influence of our foreign missionaries. They may be found scattered through the pine barrens of the South, stretching down from the Delaware Bay to the Florida Keys;—on the mountain ranges dividing the east from the west, from the northern spire of the Alleghany to the southern slope of Cumberland; on the sea-like prairies and primitive forests of the boundless West; indeed, in our crowded cities, and around all our sanctuaries,—millions, who fear not God, and to whom the glad tidings of salvation are seldom, if ever, proclaimed. Shall these scattered millions be sought out, and the oral and printed invitation be given to them to come to Christ? Is there wisdom and benevolence in a system that employs men to invite Christians of every name to share in the self-denial of giving to the destitute; or, if this is impracticable, to go themselves to the homes of those who never seek the light? And on what principles, and to what extent, shall the Committee prosecute these labors?"

The Committee to whom this report was referred, use the following language in reply:

"The subject is one of overwhelming interest to the Christian, the philanthropist and patriot, in whatever point of view it may be presented. The colporteur system is admirably adapted to meet the need of our widely extended country. * * * * *

"The plan is one of practical interest; and is recommended for its efficiency, its cheapness, its directness, and its comprehensiveness. It is

suited exactly to the object sought to be obtained, and if carried out thoroughly, as it ought to be, every settler upon the boundless and sea-like prairie,—every inmate of a log-cabin in the densest forest of the West, every wanderer from his own and native land, who has hither directed his steps to a new home,—every immigrant, who, with his wife, his sons, and his daughters, has just planted himself in some place remote from human habitations, far away from the sound of the church-going bell, may find the colporteur waiting for him there, to welcome him with a message of peace and salvation.

“The colporteur will be found by the way-side, and in the great thoroughfares, and upon steamers, and the rail-road cars, and wherever the tide of emigration is setting, distributing the precious seed they bear, as angels of mercy to a weary traveller.”

In another place, we shall show the efficiency and adapt-
edness of the colporteur system to the spiritual wants of our own denomination, if superadded to the itinerating labors of a numerous class of ministers in the Western Valley.

Thirdly, The American Sunday School Union. This great association has the two-fold object of providing a religious literature, adapted to the wants of the youth of our country, and planting a Sabbath school in every destitute settlement.

Personal labors and the press are the instrumentalities employed. The various series of books issued, include nearly 500 different volumes, and are admirably adapted to childhood and youth. All these books have been examined and approved by a committee, composed of members from the principal evangelical denominations of our country; as Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, German Reformed, Lutherans, and others. The process of correction is simple, sure, and avoids all controversy. Each member expunges from every manuscript or book, submitted to his revision, every sentence or word that would be objectionable to his sect. After such a process, all that remains is truth, and such truth as is held by Christians in common. The books of the Union, though they may not contain every Scriptural truth, are, nevertheless, acceptable to all. There is no compromise for the sake of union. No one yields up his conscientious views of the gospel, either in doctrine, form of government, or ordinances. It is an arrangement honorable and equitable to the parties concerned, for the universal propagation of those truths which are common to all. Each denomination is still left free to teach and manage its own

schools, use other books, and propagate every other truth through its own instrumentality. The same principles and mode of working belong to the American Tract Society.

The objects of the American Sunday School Union, as set forth in its documents, are, to concentrate the efforts of Sunday School Societies in different sections of the country ; to strengthen the hands of the friends of religious education on the Lord's day ; to circulate moral and religious publications in every part of the land ; and to plant a Sunday school wherever there is a population. The association originated in its present form in 1824, from the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union, which had previously issued 18 different books. During the succeeding five years, the Union sent forth nearly six millions of publications. The noble resolution was then adopted to establish a Sunday school wherever practicable, in the Great Western Valley, and funds for that object were specifically appropriated.

The business operations, since 1830, show the average amount annually of \$65,650 ; or an aggregate of \$853,500. About twenty millions of Scriptural publications have been sent forth through the various channels of circulation, to mark the traces of their benign influence upon the hearts and conduct of the youth of our country.

It would be interesting, indeed, to trace the history of each volume of our religious publications, from the first conception of the subject in the mind of the author to the last perceptible result of its publication. Such a privilege can be enjoyed by no finite mind. All is known to him who has the resources of the universe at his command.

While we pass by the many minor and local associations, more or less denominational in their features, we ought to give a passing notice of the New England Sabbath School Union, as being more immediately connected with the interests of the Baptist denomination, and which issues more than fifty varieties of Sabbath school books.

Fourthly, The American Baptist Publication and Sunday School Society. This Society was instituted under the name of the Baptist General Tract Society, at Washington, D. C., in 1824. The inceptive plan originated in the mind of the late Rev. Noah Davis. During the first three years, the Society printed 221,500 copies of tracts, including 2,064,000

pages. In January, 1827, its seat of operations was transferred to Philadelphia, where it carried forward its business till 1840; when, by a convention of the denomination, its name was changed, and its sphere of usefulness enlarged. During the preceding sixteen years, this Society raised, in the aggregate, \$86,048, and issued upwards of three millions of tracts, or more than fifty-four millions of pages.

In three years, since its re-organization, this Society has issued 294,569 copies of tracts, including almanacs and other pamphlets; and 36,000 bound volumes; the aggregate being equal to 12,200,000 pages, 12mo.

The first article of the constitution defines its sphere of operation. "Its objects shall be to publish such books as are needed by the Baptist denomination, and promote Sunday schools by such measures as experience may prove expedient."

These objects may be arranged under four heads.

1. The gratuitous circulation of religious tracts, especially in those parts of our country, and other lands, where the population are partially or wholly destitute of other means of religious instruction. In most of the Southern and Western States are multitudes of people that can be reached by Baptist missionaries, and other itinerant preachers, and these need supplies of tracts for distribution.

2. The publication, or purchase and distribution by sale, of religious books for family and general reading.

3. Providing needy ministers with small libraries. Throughout the Western Valley, a large proportion of the ministry connected with Baptist churches need such aid.

4. The encouragement of Sabbath schools and Bible classes, and providing small libraries through all that portion of our country, where is a deficiency in the ministry and other means of religious instruction.

In a circular, published in the sixteenth annual report of the Baptist General Tract Society, we find the following propositions.

"The constitution of the present Society to be so altered, as to enable it not only to publish and circulate tracts, but Sabbath school books, also biographical, doctrinal, historical, and other valuable religious works as shall be required, and which publications shall embrace chiefly those of a denominational character.

"That an amicable agreement be entered into with the American Tract Society, and the American Sunday School Union, to obtain their

publications on the best possible terms ; and that they be circulated by our agents and sold at our depositories, in connection with our own denominational publications, and at such prices as will enable us to cover contingent expenses on all sales.

“That an arrangement be entered into with the New England Sunday School Union, either to amalgamate, or to supply us with a large and very general assortment of their publications.”

The plan of the Baptist Publication Society provides for a denominational literature, and, at the same time, works harmoniously with those great societies which act on union principles. The circular already mentioned, thus addresses the denomination throughout the United States.

“It is an undertaking of the greatest importance to us, as a distinct and separate denomination. The positive advantages that must accrue, by spreading before the young and the old a Baptist literature, by introducing to the rising generation the names and the writings of those distinguished men who have contributed so largely towards the shedding of religious light and truth upon the world, and by enlisting the talents of eminent Baptists of the day,—are second to none. For the means of effecting this noble design, we look to our brethren, who have never been backward in contributing their influence and their substance to the cause of benevolence and religion, when properly presented to their minds. In this instance, we confidently ask and expect your countenance and support, and the rest we leave with God.

“Nor can we doubt, that when you reflect upon the utility and necessity for some system of operations that shall supply with well written tracts, and books of a denominational character, the young, the middle-aged, and the aged, Sabbath schools and families ; and more especially, a system which designs to carry them to the door of every Sabbath school,—a system, too, which, we are encouraged to believe, will give a new impulse to all who are in any wise engaged in this expansive benevolence, that will strengthen the hands of those who are discouraged, and brighten the dying hopes of the desponding,—you will give the above proposition your most earnest and prayerful reflection.”

The plan of the circulation of books adopted by the Society involves no doubtful experiment. It combines the agency system of the American Tract Society, and the colporteur system of the Methodists. It requires no complicated or expensive machinery to provide the means of instruction by the press for our whole denomination. No expensive agencies are required. A few judicious superintending agents in the different parts of the United States may be necessary in raising funds, directing the distribution, and getting our churches and associations more fully organized for benevolent action. And in this work, the Publication Society can co-operate harmoniously with the Foreign Mission, the Home

Mission, the Bible Society, and the educational department of evangelical effort. It is an indispensable part of the system of operations to employ pious, discreet and efficient colporteurs to sell books on commission. The per centage allowed will enable these men to bear their own expenses, while they visit families, attend week-day, protracted, and other meetings, associations, and Sabbath schools, supply them with the necessary publications, and cultivate habits of reading.

In most cases, these colporteurs will be ministers of the gospel, and thereby constitute a useful corps of itinerant missionaries in all our frontier and destitute settlements. These are providential circumstances in the condition of a large proportion of our southern and western ministers, that make such an arrangement highly expedient. A very large proportion of our churches, in that part of our country, have regular visits from a minister but once, or at most twice, in each month. The monthly meetings always include two days. On Saturdays, church-members, and many of the population, assemble for worship. This furnishes the visiting preacher an admirable opportunity to dispose of his books. Baptist pastors and itinerants can do what every Methodist circuit preacher has always done,—supply the churches with the means of profitable reading.

A brief survey of the statistics of our denomination, the circumstances of a portion of our ministry, and the great destitution of adequate means of religious instruction from the pulpit, will show the pressing need of a Baptist Publication Society, and the peculiar adaptation of the colporteur system to a large majority of our churches. Our means of pastoral training, in proportion to the number of our churches and communicants, are far less than those of any other denomination.

In the United States we have 8,482 churches, and 650,000 communicants, and only 5,650 ministers. This last item includes ordained and licensed ministers; those who are connected with literary and theological institutions; those who are superannuated, and those who are employed in secular business for a support, and devote such time as they can spare to the gospel ministry, without charge to the churches. At least one half of this number are deficient in the requisite qualifications for pastors of single churches. Many of this

class are peculiarly successful in proclaiming the elementary truths of the gospel. They make excellent pioneers in the western States and frontier settlements, and the Holy Spirit owns their labors in the conversion of great numbers, who, were it not for this description of ministers, would have been wholly destitute. This class of ministers are admirably adapted to perform the first branches of the great commission. They can teach the elements of the gospel, so as to make disciples, and they can baptize the converts; but they cannot well carry out the commission, in "teaching them to observe all things," which Christ has commanded. They cannot train up the disciples, and mould the churches so as to produce the efficiency necessary. This state of things is not so much the result of neglect, as of the extraordinary increase of our churches and membership, by the special providence of God.

There is another circumstance peculiar to us, as a religious people. The numerical strength and efficiency of pastoral and all other means of instruction, are on one side of the country. In all the New England States, in 1842, we had 856 churches, 91,700 communicants, and 767 ministers. In the State of New York, there were 829 churches, 754 ministers, and 89,710 communicants. In these States, the Baptist churches are provided with an efficient ministry, and all other means of instruction, to about the same extent as are Congregationalists and Presbyterians. But it is not so in the other parts of the Union. In the Southern States, from Delaware to Florida, we have 2235 churches, about 200,000 communicants, and only 1358 ministers. In the Western Valley, including eleven States and two Territories, the Baptists have 4400 churches, 221,767 communicants, and only 2529 ministers. And not more than 500 of this number, in any proper sense, sustain the pastoral relation, and look to the churches for a support. These facts demonstrate, that the churches of our denomination are exceedingly deficient in the means of religious instruction.

But there is another view of the subject. More than one fourth of the professors of religion in evangelical denominations, in our whole country, are members of Baptist churches. The proportion is about two to seven. Consequently, were the present population of our nation (19,500,000) divided amongst these denominations, about 5,500,000 would come

under our influence. For this number, at least, we are expected to provide adequate means of grace.

In the Western Valley, the Baptist denomination includes about one fourth of the Protestant church members. The population of that district now exceeds eight millions and one third. We are expected to provide for the spiritual wants of more than two millions in that field. Can this be done, without an efficient Publication Society? This is a solemn and weighty subject. With this work before us, we cannot turn it aside. We have a large class of ministers in the Middle, Southern and Western States, who would make efficient colporteurs; and who, if supplied and commissioned, would perform the three-fold service of preaching the gospel to the destitute, distributing books and tracts, and exciting the people to read for instruction.

The colporteur system, applied to the Baptist denomination in the United States, through the Publication Society, requires capital, in some degree commensurate with the numbers and the wants of the people to be supplied. A few hundred dollars may put into circulation a single book; but many thousands are requisite to publish the number and variety needed. Books in sufficient quantities, and of considerable varieties, must first be procured, and placed in deposit at convenient points, where colporteurs, missionaries and pastors can obtain them. Depositories for the retail of books (excepting, perhaps, in large cities), should not be established by the Society. The colporteur system is far better adapted to supply the wants of the people, and cultivate the habit of reading.

The result of the whole is, that we have in all our churches more than 650,000 communicants,—that, by increase, we double in less than twelve years,—that a large proportion of our church members have not the pastoral supervision and training which is indispensable to make them active, devoted Christians, abounding in every good work,—that, in consequence of this deficiency, less than half can be expected to contribute for foreign missions and other benevolent operations,—that a large number of our ministers should receive aid in books,—that one half of the denomination must lend a helping hand to train up the other half for every good work,—and that the circulation of religious books and tracts,

providing libraries for a class of our ministers who are destitute, establishing Bible classes for persons of adult age, and Sabbath schools for the young, with a more enlarged system of home missions, and a more liberal plan for the education of our ministry, are measures to be adopted.

The Publication Society proposes to perform the part of this great work that appropriately comes within its sphere of labor. We are aware of an objection to the multiplication of societies, and the constant and repeated application for funds. The question really is, Can the Baptist Publication Society be spared? We see no way in which the great work can be done in our numerous destitute churches without it. The two great Societies acting on union principles, cannot reach a large portion of our churches, except in an incidental way. Baptists must provide for the wants of Baptists. They belong to the same household of faith. If we do not provide adequate means of instruction, who will?

The means can be provided to set in active and successful operation an extensive colporteur system, if the churches are awake to the subject. The proportion of ten cents from each member, in one half of our churches, would produce thirty thousand dollars annually. Were each church now provided with a pastor, to contribute twenty dollars for a life-membership, or fifty dollars for a life-directorship, the requisite means would soon be provided. Should every brother, who can spare twenty dollars without embarrassment, constitute himself a life-member, and the amount so raised be judiciously applied in the purchase and distribution of books, with the personal labors of the colporteur, by the blessing of God, our denomination, in ten years, would not only double its numbers, but would more than double its contributions to missions, and its spiritual energies be increased four-fold.

ARTICLE VI.

THE STATE DEBTS.

STATE STOCKS AND REVENUES, *comprising Statistical Tables of the Stocks, Debts, Expenditures and Revenues of each of the United States.* New York. 1841. pp. 8.

Message of Governor Porter to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, January, 1843.

As Christian reviewers, we have, from the beginning of our career, abjured the introduction of every question, in its nature even remotely political. With the parties which agitate our country, we have no connection. We look upon both with an equal eye, rejoicing when either promotes the real good of our beloved native land; and turning away in sorrow rather than in anger, when either sports with the vital interests of society, either for the sake of ephemeral popularity, or the sordid love of office. Yet even this disclaimer must be made with a single grain of limitation. While every measure purely political, and so far as it is political, is wholly excluded from our jurisdiction, yet, if any political measure dare to set at naught the principles of eternal justice, and trifle with the dearest interests of man, we feel bound by our character as Christians to utter our solemn and earnest remonstrance. We let politics alone, so long as politics violate not the laws of Christ. But should they do this; should politicians of any party, under cover of party names or party measures, undertake to perpetrate wrong, and involve the land in guilt, we, as Christian reviewers, shall ever hold ourselves at liberty to unmask the wickedness, under what subterfuges soever it may have taken refuge. Wickedness is the same, by whatever name it may be called, or under whatever guise it may seek concealment. To wickedness, whether in high places or in low, whether committed by the many or the few, by the people or their representatives, we are, as Christians, eternally opposed. We shall never feel the necessity, therefore, of making an apology for rebuking evil, in whatever political form it may appear; not because it is *political*, but because it is *evil*; and, with evil we can never cease to contend, without ceasing to be Christians.

While we, however, take the liberty, in common phrase, thus "to define our position," we are happy to add that the question, which, in the following pages, we propose to consider, is in no manner beset with the difficulty to which we have alluded. It is, in no manner, that we know of, a party question. The principles which it involves are so manifest, that all men, upon reflection, must see them as they are. Both parties have united in the same view of every thing material concerning it. The leading journals of both parties have clearly set forth the facts in the case, and nobly defended the cause of truth and justice.* Without the fear of being considered as the advocates or opponents of either, we may, therefore, with the greater freedom, proceed to state the views which, as Christians, we entertain on this grave and important matter.

The general fact has been long before the public, that the several States in the Union are indebted to various individuals in Europe, to the amount of about two hundred millions of dollars. At the time when this debt was incurred, very few persons, either in or out of the indebted States, gave themselves any trouble about it. The price of every thing vendible was rising. Cities (on paper) were growing up in the depths of the trackless forest, or emerging from the centre of the undrained swamp. The circulating medium, expanded almost without limit, certainly without forethought, was hourly extending the means for farther investment. Nobody seemed to have observed that the real values in the country were precisely the same as they had been, and that the only change which had really been effected, consisted in the increased number of bits of handsomely engraved paper. The ordinary and old fashioned method of getting rich, by increasing the values existing in society, was abandoned as obsolete. A man had nothing to do but borrow of a bank, give his note, buy up any thing on which he could lay his hand, wait till the increase of the circulating medium had raised the price of his product, sell, borrow yet more on the credit which his first speculation had established, and repeat the process as often as the times would allow. A young man, who went to any of our large cities penniless, was considered a blockhead,

* See an article on the State Debts in the Democratic Review for January, 1844; and another on the same subject in the North American Review, of the same month.

if he did not report himself worth one or two hundred thousand dollars, in a very few years. The temptation was too great to be resisted. Men of all professions were infected with the mania. Lawyers, physicians, judges, clergymen, were soon enrolled among the number of operators, while the corps editorial, desiring a share in the universal prosperity, puffed assiduously at every extravagant project, on the equitable condition that they should receive a reasonable share of the profits.

All this answered very well for a while, and in behalf of the money-making portion of our fellow-citizens. Houses, like the palaces of princes, arose on every side, and Europe was ransacked to furnish them with all the appliances of luxury. It is true, the pressure fell rather heavily upon poor men like ourselves, who, without any increase of emolument, were obliged to pay three times its value for a barrel of flour or a leg of bacon. With the frogs in the fable, we could say to our friends, "this may be sport to you, but it is death to us." We, however, bore it silently, in the hope, that some day or other, we also should partake of the cup of prosperity, which was pressed to every body's lips but our own. But while we were waiting in patient expectation, our anticipations were cruelly mocked. We suddenly heard rumors of distant reverses. As they drew nearer, we were more distinctly informed of the existence of financial embarrassment. Nothing would save the community, it was said, but a suspension of specie payments. Specie payments were suspended. They were resumed. They were, in all the States west and south of New York, again suspended. Amidst universal failure, and the almost total destruction of the circulating medium, they have been again resumed, and prices have come again to their natural standard. Confidence is again resuming its place, and the prosperity of the country is flowing again in its usual channels. People have begun once more to seek to grow rich by their labor, instead of their wits. We hope they will long remember this lesson of dear-bought experience.

The reason of all this revulsion is neither abstruse nor profound. The real values, as we said, of the country remained, during all this time, the same. The difference in prices was the result of neither increased nor diminished natural demand or supply ; but merely of the increase and subsequent dimi-

nution of the circulating medium. There were no more numerous or more valuable products, either to be bought or sold, at one time than another ; but there was a vast deal more money to buy with. Any one who wanted money, by exchanging his note for it, could have it. As every one could procure money, every one overbid his neighbor, and thus, in a season of ordinary productiveness, all the means of subsistence rose in price, as if we were living in a besieged city.

But while every one could borrow money, every one was obliged (though it seemed only a matter of form) to give his note for it. He paid this money for cotton, or rice, or tobacco, or manufactures, or eastern or western lands, and thus he stood, with his note in the one hand, and his products, at these extravagant prices, in the other. The note always remained the same, save only that the interest was accumulating. The lands, or whatever he had bought, might remain the same or not. If they rose in price, he would be rich in the amount of the difference. If they remained stationary, the interest of the note would gradually absorb the principal. If they fell in value, he was ruined. But, moreover, these notes were on time, and they must be paid when due. When pay-day came, if they were not renewed, and he could not sell his products, his credit was gone, and he was, in this case also, ruined. His only chance, then, consisted in the hope that the banks would not demand payment within any assignable time. The moment this demand was made, and made generally, the bubble must burst, and universal bankruptcy ensue.

The banks, however, very soon found themselves without any option in the matter. The paper which they had issued, consisted of obligations to pay on demand, and pay in specie. By their over-issues, they had (as must always be the case) driven all the specie out of the country. They began to feel alarmed for themselves ; and, justly alarmed by the total ruin with which they were threatened, they began to limit their discounts, and require payment as the notes of the borrowers became due. The borrower could not meet the exigency, without selling the property which he held, and which he had purchased with the bills of the bank, at the most absurd prices. What was the case with one, was the case with all. There were now more sellers than buyers. Prices began to fall, and the illusion vanished. Every one

saw that his notes remained the same, while his means for paying them were fearfully diminishing. Bankruptcy stared every one in the face. City lots, timber lands, and western villages, fell in the market; and cotton, flour, rice and tobacco followed the example. Suspension of specie payments for a while retarded the fall. But this enormous injustice, by which the price of every thing was raised to the many for the benefit of the few, could not long be perpetuated. With the return of specie payments, prices fell; these unlucky notes, however, continued the same, with the addition of the interest that had accrued, and the community righted itself in the universal ruin of the speculator.

Such is the crisis through which this country has passed. While, however, all this was going forward, other elements were introduced, which, in some degree, affected the mode of the disaster. As, in the circumstances to which we have alluded, every man was intensely eager to borrow money of the banks in order to sustain his falling credit, it is manifest that his disposition towards banks would be determined precisely by their willingness or unwillingness to comply with his demands. If the banks determined to fulfil their own obligations, and redeem their bills in specie, and, in order to enable themselves to do this, curtailed their discounts, the cry was raised that they were ruining the merchants and favoring the aristocracy, in order to grind the faces of the people. If they were willing still to discount, and thus increase the existing evil by still more deeply flooding the country with bills which they were unable to pay, they were loudly applauded, and, by legislative acts, exonerated from the obligation to pay in specie, that is, for the time being, to pay at all. Hence arose still greater confusion. In many of the States, the banks suffered, as we think, unconstitutional persecution. In some, it was resolved to abolish them altogether. While in others, they were permitted and encouraged to issue as much irredeemable paper as they chose.

The banks in New England and New York passed through this crisis, generally, unscathed, and redeemed their notes on demand. Hence the currency here remained firm, and the pressure in these States was less severe than elsewhere. Where it was resolved to abolish the banks, the circulating medium was almost annihilated, and we have been credibly informed, that, in many instances, farmers of undoubted ability

were scarcely able to procure money wherewith to pay their taxes. All trade, for a time, was carried on by barter. Where the banks were protected, as it was called, a different result followed. There was no difficulty in procuring money, (that is, bank bills), but, when you had procured them, they were worthless. Men soon found out that pieces of engraved paper, containing a promise to pay in specie, when there was neither ability or intention to fulfil the promise, nor any means of enforcing it, were no better than any other pieces of paper. Hence, the circulating medium, in many instances, perished from absolute worthlessness; and in the best cases it was never worth the face of it, but merely worth the probability which might be supposed to exist, that it would be paid at some time or other.

While the circulation was in this condition, it was also the fact, that the southern and western were enormously indebted to the eastern and middle States. During the paroxysm of prosperity, it seemed to be universally conceded, that the only true mode of growing rich was to *sell* a vast amount of goods. Every one was anxious to do what was called "a tremendous business." And it was, surely enough, "tremendous" in its results. Sales were made to almost any one calling himself a southern or western merchant, at first on six, then on nine, then on twelve, and finally, in many cases, on eighteen months' credit. In this manner, an immense amount of the capital of the north was carried to the south and west. Had land and the staple products continued at the exaggerated prices which they commanded when the purchases were made, then debts would, doubtless, have been paid as punctually as formerly. But every thing fell to an immense amount. The southern merchants, as well as the northern, had become deeply involved in land speculations. When the time of payment arrived, they were unable to meet their engagements. In a vast multitude of cases, the change of prices had left the merchant without a dollar, and yet deeply in debt. In other cases, where a partial payment was made, such was the depreciation of southern paper, that it could not be transmitted to New York or Boston, at less than thirty or forty per cent. discount. In other portions of the country, there was no circulating medium to transmit. The western merchant could not collect his dues. All being indebted to the north, and credit being, from this rude shock, utterly prostrated, all

business, for a year or two, came to a stand. Goods could not be sold to the interior, and the manufacturers and merchants were, for a time, on the very verge of ruin.

The losses of the north and east were, during this period, enormous. A gentleman connected with an importing house in New York informed the writer, that his firm had not less than five hundred thousand dollars in the south and west, from which they never expected to realize a farthing. This may, perhaps, be a more than unusually unfortunate case; but we apprehend that, were a faithful account kept of the losses of our northern merchants during this sad period, the amount would stagger belief. Rents fell in the city of New York, in many cases, fifty, and in some, we believe, sixty and seventy per cent.; and for months together, the best mercantile houses did not realize sufficient from their sales to pay the wages of their clerks. A gentleman of that city, whose firm had frequently sold thousands of dollars'-worth, daily, asked us on one occasion, in the spring-season, to imagine what their sales for that day had amounted to. He assured us that they had amounted to exactly one dollar!

An occasion was here taken to denounce, in unmeasured terms, what is called the credit system. And as this system has been intimately connected with this result, it may be worth while to diverge from the course of our remarks, for a moment, in order to devote a single paragraph to this subject. There are two modes of mercantile operation, that are denominated the credit system. They are widely dissimilar from each other. The one is of the following character. In a vigorous and thriving community, like our own, there are two classes of persons frequently to be met with. The one, young, enterprising, and possessed of mechanical or mercantile skill, but destitute of capital; the other, possessed of considerable capital, but advanced in years, and unwilling to undergo the fatigues of active business. Now the first class, by borrowing of the second, is enabled to turn its skill and industry to the very best account, and can easily pay the ordinary rate of interest, and yet secure to itself a handsome profit. The second, by lending to the first, is able, without the fatigues of labor and active occupation, to realize a handsome remuneration. In this manner, all the capital and skill and industry of the whole community are engaged in production; and the progress of the nation is as rapid as the laws of

divine Providence will allow. In this form of credit, the capital actually *exists*, before it is loaned. It is loaned to persons who desire actually to unite it with industry and skill, for the sake of enabling that industry and skill to create a vastly greater amount of product than could be created without it.

The other kind of credit proceeds upon a very different principle. It acts by creating a fictitious capital; and this capital is not employed in connection with skill and industry; but merely for the purpose of enabling a few holders to monopolize the productions of the country, to create an artificial rise of prices, double the cost of the poor man's loaf, and, in the end, render worthless the dollar which he has earned wherewith to purchase it. This is commonly brought about by fraudulent banking, excessive bank issues, and all the means by which a country is flooded with worthless paper; and, as a necessary consequence, drained of all that specie, by which alone this paper can be rendered of any value. The former of these is reasonable and legitimate credit. The latter is spurious credit, or, more properly, deliberate knavery. The former tends to diffuse comfort and the means of happiness equally through all classes of society; the other designs to make the rich, richer, and the poor, poorer; and in the end plunges both in the gulf of universal bankruptcy. It would be well if the opponents as well as the advocates of credit, would, at the outset of their arguments, inform their hearers to which of these kinds of credit their remarks are intended to apply.

But to return to the thread of our remarks. It was during this paroxysm of universal prosperity, that these debts of the States were contracted, and in consequence of this sudden revulsion, the interest which was due upon them, failing to be paid, they became valueless.

While property of every kind was daily rising in value, and every one was growing rich; and yet more, while every one seemed to be growing rich the more rapidly, the more deeply he was involved in debt, it is not surprising that whole communities were affected with the mania which had prostrated the reason of individuals. The immense facilities possessed by this country for works of internal improvement must be obvious to every one who looks for a quarter of an hour on the map of the United States. The success of the

Erie canal, and its power in adding to the wealth and resources of the State of New York, were now fully demonstrated. Several railroads had been constructed, which promised to yield to the proprietors a princely revenue. Each State was desirous to distinguish itself in this truly laudable undertaking. Every one could perceive the benefits which such lines of intercommunication would confer, not only on the particular State, but on the nation at large. Each portion of the country was desirous of thus at once conferring and receiving benefit, and the construction of works of internal improvement became the passion of the day.

The facilities which were given at the time to these operations were such as, at the present day, almost to startle belief. England had entered into the credit system almost as rashly as we. Capital was there abundant. It was soon found that any State whatever, by issuing its bonds and negotiating them in London, could obtain any amount of funds that it could desire. Reasoning, as we always do when our imagination is excited, only from the *most favorable* cases of internal improvement; and believing that the exacerbation of fever was only the healthy excitement of youthful vigor, many of the States believed that the income of the works which they projected would not only pay off the interest of the cost of their construction, but, in a few years, sink also the principal; they entered upon the career of internal improvement in every direction, and, in many cases, with lamentable want of forethought. The bonds were issued and negotiated in London. The proceeds were realized. The works were commenced, and commenced at a time when prices were high, and the cost of every material exorbitant. In some cases, the works were completed. In others, the funds provided were found to be wholly inadequate, and the works were prematurely arrested. In some, we fear they were dishonestly squandered, and no benefit accrued to the public. In the midst of this universal effort to carry a railroad or a canal to every town, and almost to every man's door, the revulsion occurred. Every one suddenly found himself poor. Wealth seemed to have vanished; or, in the words of the Scriptures, "to have made to itself wings and flown away." The calculations which had been made in the period of excitement were found to be lamentably

fallacious. The rush of passengers had ceased. The products which were to have been transmitted on these channels of intercourse did not move. The intercourse between the different parts of the country seemed paralyzed. The railroads and canals, which it was supposed would pay for themselves, hardly defrayed the cost of repairs, and sometimes absolutely failed to do even this. The whole burden thus fell back upon the States; and, in this season of universal exhaustion, they were called upon to sustain a load which would have been sufficiently onerous in times of the most vigorous prosperity.

They could not sustain it. They staggered and fell. The interest remained unpaid. The bonds of sovereign States became a byword on every exchange in Europe. Thousands were reduced to beggary by the misfortune. The credit of the whole country was shivered to atoms. The general government was unable to effect a foreign loan, even to an amount perfectly within the power of any respectable mercantile house.

For a while, our distress at home gave us no leisure to contemplate our position. When we at last looked at it, the general prostration rendered relief almost hopeless. The excitement of exaggerated hope had been succeeded by the gloom of despair. No one knew what to do, and all were convinced that a better day must arrive before we could look at the subject calmly, with the determination of righting ourselves in the eyes of the world and in the presence of our own conscience.

That better day has now arrived. Trade has resumed its natural channels. All the various modes of industry are again reaping their abundant reward. Confidence between man and man, and between the different districts of the country, is re-established. Our currency is again sound and solvent. Exchanges are effected between the different parts of our extended country at moderate rates. The regions of the south and west, for so long almost destitute of our manufactures, are supplying themselves abundantly, and are bringing back their rich staples in return. It is confidently asserted that, for many years, this country has not done so profitable a business as during the year which has just closed. Now, then, is the time to look at this subject dispassionately; and let us look at it, as men of integrity and honor, and above all, as Christians.

What, then, are the facts in the case? These may, in general, be easily and briefly stated. The people of the States, by the representatives of their own choice, and for their own profit and advantage, resolved to borrow funds. They issued their notes, or bonds, duly signed and sealed, promising to pay the sums specified, to any one who would lend to them, and with interest thereon until paid. These bonds were negotiated by their own agents. The money was received and deposited in their own treasury. It was expended by their own agents, by their own order, on works for their own exclusive benefit. The holders of these bonds come and demand that we fulfil our promise, and redeem our solemnly ratified pledge. Now what, in such a case, is to be done?

To this question, there can be conceived but one answer. The debt is a fair one, and must be paid. The payment cannot be evaded, without the most direct and monstrous injustice. It cannot be evaded, without destroying for ever the good name of our country. It cannot be evaded, without involving the guilt of dishonesty, nay more, of dishonesty effected by a violation of the most solemn engagements. Can any one doubt, therefore, what will be the decision to which an honorable, high-minded, and Christian people will come? Cost what it will, it becomes us to sacrifice every thing to honor, virtue and religion. We should be unworthy of our ancestors, if we for a moment hesitated in such a case. We should dishonor the religion which we profess, if we did not practise every self-denial, and endure cheerfully every burden, rather than justly incur the suspicion of doing wrong.

And we rejoice to believe that this is the decision to which this nation has already come. In the moment of depression, to which we have alluded, when very many scarcely knew how to meet the expenses of daily consumption; when, in every city, multitudes of the best established houses were bankrupt, and the strongest firms could do nothing more than sustain the pressure; when produce was almost valueless, and corn was sold, throughout vast regions of the West, for a few cents a bushel, and pork for a cent and a half a pound, it is not wonderful that a foreign debt was forgotten or disregarded. The reproaches which have been heaped upon our country on this account by the Rev. Sydney Smith and others, have really been more remarkable for sarcasm than for justice. We know

that they were great sufferers. We know that multitudes were reduced from affluence to penury by our misfortune. But still they ought to have remembered that they shared in our infatuation, and they should also have remembered that the universal distress, arising from this total failure or inextricable embarrassment of the circulating medium, was unparalleled. The efforts which were made by our merchants to sustain the national credit, during this embarrassment, were worthy of all praise, and were sufficient, of themselves, to elevate the character of any people on earth. Exchanges on London were bought up in all our mercantile cities at any price, in order to meet our engagements. Indeed, while the foreign houses were complaining of the dilatoriness of our payment, and reproaching us for want of faith, we were making sacrifices in order to meet our engagements, which, when they were subsequently known, filled our foreign creditors with astonishment. They, in many instances, declared that no other people in Christendom would have sustained their credit at such absolutely ruinous expense.

Such was, in this instance, the American character, and such, we trust, will it ever be. The West is as high-minded and as honorable as the East, the South as the North. The farmers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois, Mississippi and Louisiana are of the same stock with the merchants of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. What the one have done to sustain their personal credit, the other will do to protect untarnished the honor of their States and of the nation. We have full confidence that this whole debt will, in a short time, be placed in the way of equitable adjustment, and that this sore trial will only raise to a loftier eminence the moral character of the country.

Nor is this all mere baseless anticipation. The indications are manifest that the attention of the whole public is directed to the subject, in a manner commensurate with its importance. No respectable journal, or even respectable newspaper, has dared to advocate the doctrine of what has been called 'repudiation.' The very word itself has become odious, and is now never used, but in derision,—a very sure indication, by the way, of the current of public sentiment. Some of our legislative assemblies have expressed their views on this subject in language worthy of the fathers of our republic. Some of the indebted States are anxiously engaged in devising

means for the restoration of their credit. The people themselves are already holding meetings for the purpose of memorializing their legislators on the subject, and demanding that direct taxes sufficient to meet the exigency may be immediately imposed. The most distinguished men in our present political parties have eloquently and unanswerably set forth the obligations of honor and virtue in regard to this matter. Good men in every part of the Union are uniting their influence, and exerting their talents to lead their fellow-citizens to the true result. With such a cause, under such auspices, and in such a country as our own, can any one doubt of their success?

In the progress of this work, however, it is to be expected that obstacles will be encountered. In all the States which have incurred a large amount of indebtedness, additional direct taxes must be laid. These will, for a time, be burdensome. They will, however, annually decrease, as the income from the public works becomes larger. In few cases, however, will it render the taxes more onerous than those that are now paid in many of our large cities. Be it, however, large or small, it is insignificant in comparison with a loss of virtue and honor. Some of the States at present may be really unable to pay either the principal, or the whole of the interest of the debt. Of these, all we can ask and all that virtue requires, is, that they honorably and honestly do all in their power; that they show to the world a soul incapable of meanness. They are young, and rapidly increasing in resources. In a few years, if their character remain untarnished, they will be able to do, without an effort, what now would be impracticable. What could Ohio have done in 1800? What would be impossible for Ohio, now? In 1800, her whole population numbered 42,156; in 1840, 1,519,467. If we all come to this effort with determined will, with unfaltering virtue, and far-seeing public spirit, the work will be accomplished, and the honor of our country redeemed.

Suggestions may, we are aware, be thrown out from time to time, which would tend to retard the progress of this work of justice. They will not bear examination for a moment; yet lest any person should be misled by them, it may not be amiss, at this point of the discussion, briefly to refer to them.

It has, we believe, been said, that this debt is owned by

the bankers of London,—men of overgrown wealth; and we are poor, depending on our labor for our bread. It is better that they should lose it, than that we should, at such inconvenience, be obliged to pay it.

To this consideration, various replies might be offered. In the first place, supposing the facts to be as they are stated, who does not see that the principle here involved is totally subversive of all true honesty? No man could offer it as a reason for not paying his debts, unless he abandoned all claim either to honesty or honor. It makes every debtor the judge in his own case, and makes him decide the question whether he shall pay his debts, not by the fact that he owes them, but by his opinion of the wealth of his creditor. It is the same as to say, 'I am bound to fulfil my just obligations no longer, if I can persuade myself that the man whom I owe is richer than I.' No man could affirm this, without confessing that he deserves a place in a penitentiary.

But even were this principle sound, it would not avail in this case, but the contrary. Which, in this instance, is the rich, and which the poor party? We ask, what is the richest banker in London, with his equipage, his stocks, and his country seats, to the sovereign State of Pennsylvania, comprising 1,724,000 free people, covering 47,000 square miles, and creating an annual product of 200,000,000 of dollars? The richest millionaire in Europe dwindles to a beggar, in the comparison. So that, were the principle adopted, that debts only are to be paid when the creditor is the richer, we ourselves would be bound by our own rule; and by our own showing, we could have no excuse for delaying our payments for a single moment.

But are the facts in the above objection correctly recited? Is it the fact that these funds are owned by the rich bankers of London? The very reverse is the case. It is true, these stocks were negotiated through these bankers, and they may, in some instances, have been the first purchasers. In the first case, they were merely brokers, who received the bonds from us, and transferred them to the purchasers, who now hold them. In the other case, that is, when they were the first purchasers, they merely bought them to sell again. Their business is to buy stocks at wholesale, and sell them at retail; just as a merchant, in one of our Atlantic cities, buys in large quantities, in order to sell again. Does any merchant

in Cincinnati suppose that the merchant in New York consumes in his own family the cargoes of pork that are annually consigned to him? No; a banker of established reputation in London would be the last man in the kingdom to invest any large amount of his property in any foreign stock whatever. You will find his capital all in government securities, or else in landed estate. These forms of property give him the consideration which he needs at home, and they are always on the instant available. We have been informed, on the very best authority, that even Lord Ashburton does not own a dollar of American securities. He very much prefers to invest his accumulating funds in land in the county of Hampshire. And so, for obvious reasons, would they all.

The fact is exactly the opposite. These funds were all purchased by people of small property. Officers of the army and navy, and their widows, clergymen, and the widows of clergymen, persons of limited means, who, in declining years, had retired from trade,—these are the persons who are the holders of American securities. We know this, from actual observation. We could name at least one Baptist clergyman, who invested no inconsiderable amount of his property in the bonds of one of our Western States. The reason of this is obvious. The interest of money, specially of public securities, in England, is low. When a man's property is small, it is a matter of great consequence to him to reap from it as great a dividend as possible. The interest promised on our bonds was frequently twice as great as could be derived from any permanent stocks in Great Britain. Hence, as every one must see, it was a great temptation to such persons, to be able to realize £200 from the capital which was now yielding only £100. The result was, that in numberless instances, such persons as we have named sold their property in government securities, or in land, and invested their all in our bonds. The consequence has been, their pecuniary ruin, and the beggary of their children.

But even this is not the whole of the case. We all know that there are two different views taken of this country on the other side of the Atlantic. Many persons there suppose our institutions but an experiment, which, from its nature, must result in failure. They do not believe that we have either the honesty or the virtue necessary to self-government. They wish us no ill; many of them would rejoice in our

success. They have, however, no confidence that we shall succeed. Such men, whether rich or poor, would never invest a dollar in our funds. They tell us that we have nothing to fall back upon. When we reply, we fall back upon the virtue and intelligence of our people, they say that yet remains to be tested. With these feelings, we may well believe that they would never bid high upon state stocks.

The other party place full reliance on our institutions. They hail with exultation every indication of our progress in science and the arts, in civilization and virtue. They look to this country, as the ultimate refuge of themselves or their children. While by no means deficient in love of their native land, they feel the increasing difficulty which exists in an old and densely peopled country; and rejoice that the principles of civil liberty are planted here in the West, in a land of boundless promise, speaking their own language, governed, in many respects, by their own laws, and cherishing the same religion; and they look to the United States as their ultimate home. In public and private they defend us from reproach, and feel that the principles which they hold most dear are identified with our success. It was these men who bought and who rendered saleable our bonds in Europe. Where there were no such men, there were no sales. Had they not purchased and advised their friends to purchase, our agents would have returned from London with their bonds in their pockets, more penniless than they went. But these men knew no difference between the General and State Governments;* they hardly knew where the States were to be found on the map; they made no distinction between Pennsylvania and Massachusetts; Louisiana and New York; they knew that in taking these bonds, they were placing their property under the broad protection of American law; they knew that they were loaning to men to whom they felt bound by every sentiment of paternal regard and political attachment; they saw on the bonds the name of the highest authority of a sovereign State, and appended to it was the broad seal of its most solemn confirmation; and they believed that the little all, on which their subsistence depended, was as safe here as in the national funds, or in the Bank of England. On these

* The writer, during a visit to England, met but two men who seemed to have any clear idea of this distinction; one of them, the late John Foster.

principles, they trusted their whole means of living to our honor. Now to refuse to pay the money which we have, under such circumstances, borrowed,—to make their very kindness to us the instrument of their ruin, is an injustice too cruel to be thought of for a moment.

But it may be said, this money never did us any good. Why should we tax ourselves, to pay for what has never been to us of any service?

To this the answer is obvious. When I ask a man to pay me a debt, how is the question of indebtedness to be decided? By the fact that I have loaned him money which he has never repaid?—or, by the fact that he made a good or a bad use of the money? Every one knows that such a plea, in the transactions of man and man, would be not only wicked, but absurd.

But in many of the cases of State indebtedness, this plea is not in accordance with the facts. The public works which have been constructed with this borrowed money, have been frequently capital well laid out. They may not now, it is true, return the interest of the money spent; but they yield an increasing revenue, which will soon repay that interest, and, ere-long, produce a surplus, that will gradually sink the principal. If the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, for instance, were to be sold at auction to-morrow, they would bring as much more, in consequence of their public works, as those public works have cost. The value of all the land within the reach of a canal or railroad, of every manufacturing establishment, of every mine, whether of coal or iron, has greatly increased by reason of these improvements. And when you take into view the vast extent of surface over which this rise has taken place, fifteen, twenty, or thirty millions of dollars are very soon accounted for. There is, therefore, no reason in this consideration, why the debt should not be paid.

But once more, and lastly, for we feel no strong desire to take notice of such objections, it may be *thought*, if not *said*, "This money was borrowed by reckless politicians to accomplish party purposes; and when received, was squandered by them on themselves or their partizans. We never knew any thing about it, until we were called upon to pay it. The men who borrowed and squandered it should pay it, but we ought not to be called upon."

We do not deny, for we would treat this subject with all fairness, that there might be cases in which this objection could be urged with some semblance of justice. Thus, where the government is hereditary and despotic, and the people have no power to influence the action of their rulers, it might seem hard to make them responsible for the ruler's act. Or, again, where a people were overrun by a foreign power, and, during the time of this unlawful occupancy, acts were done over which the people had no control, it might seem unjust to oblige them to pay for the offences of the usurpation. But it is to be remembered, that *we* have never allowed the validity of either of these pleas. We have demanded and received indemnification for confiscation under precisely such circumstances. We have universally affirmed that the people were responsible for the acts of the government *de facto*, no matter how that government might have been established. How was it possible for the people of France, or of Denmark, or of Naples, to resist the gigantic power of the military despotism of the emperor Napoleon? And yet, we have demanded, and received indemnification for confiscations pronounced by the authority of this irresistible oppression, confiscations by which the people of some, at least, of these countries were never benefitted to the value of a copper.

Such is the rule which we have proclaimed to be just, in our transactions with foreign States. We have declared that the people were bound by the acts of the government *de facto*, no matter under what circumstances this government came into power. And this principle has been conceded, by all the nations of Christendom, to be the established law by which the people of foreign States are to be governed, in their intercourse with each other.

But if this be the principle of justice under such circumstances, by how much more does it apply to the case before us! The officers by whom these bonds were given, and by whom, on our behalf, these contracts were made, were our own agents; selected by us at the ballot box; liable to be removed by us at our pleasure, and over whose acts we have an unlimited control. The acts of men thus appointed are just as much our own acts, as though we, instead of our rulers, had assembled *en masse*, and authorized these loans, in our own proper persons; and the sign and seal of the State attached to these bonds are just as much binding upon us individually,

as though we had singly and severally signed them with our own names, thereby pledging ourselves and our assigns to the payment of them for ever.

It may be said, these were not statesmen, looking for the good of the State, but merely political robbers, who cared for nothing but their own immediate popularity, and their own personal behoof. . But to this we answer, we hope this is not so. We hope that they, though in some cases erroneously, honestly judged these contracts to be for the benefit of their constituents. It was not charged that the authors of these negotiations were dishonest, until the plan resulted in failure ; and surely it is uncharitable to judge of the motives of public men by the result of their measures. We should call this severe judgment in any other case.

But granting this to be so, we ask who appointed these reckless politicians, these selfish legislators ? Why, no other than we ourselves. Were they new men and unknown to us ? By no means ; we had enjoyed every opportunity for forming an opinion of their quality. They had done nothing else from boyhood, but ring the changes upon political catch-words, and we knew them to be unprincipled. We knew that they belonged to our party, and for the sake of party and party ascendancy, we placed these powers in their hands. If then we chose to send such men, instead of sound, honest and able statesmen ; if we prefer party to country, and the men who will flatter us, to those who will tell us the truth, on whom should the consequences of our folly rest ? On ourselves, or on our innocent and unsuspecting creditors ?

To this question, there can be but one answer. We have chosen a free and a representative government. We must meet the responsibility which arises from our choice. We are responsible to the full for the acts of our agents, and it is time that we became fully awake to the solemnity of the fact. If we choose to gratify our partizan animosities ; if we are willing to be led into folly by artful and selfish demagogues, we must, like men, meet the consequences of our own actions. It will be well if we escape with no sorer punishment than the loss of a few millions of dollars. And if a loss of this kind shall teach us wisdom, if by this misfortune we shall learn to elect for our representatives men of honor and probity, of legislative wisdom, and prudent and patriotic forecast, the sinking of these amounts will yet be reckoned among our greatest blessings.

We have thus endeavored to strip this case of its accidental drapery, and present it in its simple, uncovered outline before the understanding and conscience of our readers. Unless we have greatly mistaken, it is a clear case of debt; of debt incurred under obligations peculiarly binding; and in which the violation of obligation will be attended with especial aggravations. Nor is this all. It is a debt for which every citizen in the indebted States is personally responsible. Every one is a party to the contract, and the faith of every one is pledged to its fulfilment; and a just lien exists on every one's property, until the contract is fulfilled. To state the matter briefly, it seems to us to be plainly this. We hold about \$200,000,000 of the property of our creditors. That property, on the principles of eternal justice, is theirs, and not our own. Were Justice to adjudicate in the case to-day, she would set off a portion of every farm, a percentage on every note of hand, a part of the capital of every manufacturer, of the stock in trade of every merchant and mechanic, a share of the salary of every clergyman, and of the fees of every lawyer and physician, and declare, this portion belongs not to you, but to those on the other side of the Atlantic, who confided it to your faith and honor. You have no right to it, principal or interest. Every day that you retain it, you retain it wrongfully. Every use that you make of it for yourselves, is a violation of equity. The line of demarkation between your own and another's can never be covered from the eye of Omniscience. Transmit it as you may, devise it as you will, it bears upon it the mark of wrong; and down to the remotest generations, it will carry with it the curse of holy and justly offended Almightyness.

In such a case as this, can there be a question what will be the decision of the American people? Is there a single descendant of the northern puritan or the southern cavalier, who will not scorn to hold for a moment a dollar that is not rightfully his own? The bargain may seem hard, but it was a fair bargain; the sacrifice required may cost self-denial, and call forth the exercise of sterling virtue; but if this property rightly belongs to others, every principle of honor exclaims, let them have it, to the very last farthing. We have all lost property before, rather than tarnish our good name; and we are able to do it again. We may leave to our children a diminished inheritance, but we will never bequeath to them

the legacy of a parent's dishonor. It shall never be said, that we, who have bared our bosoms to the bayonet in defence of our national independence, and humbled the mistress of the seas on her own chosen element, now, in the vigor of our manhood, have sold the priceless heritage of our fair fame for a beggarly mess of pottage.

To Christian men, in such a case, the path of duty is obvious. Every disciple of Christ, by his very profession, declares, that he values integrity more highly than any thing else. No man can be a Christian, who would deliberately do injustice, or be guilty of dishonesty, for any pecuniary reward. Here, then, he is met by precisely this case. A clear and indubitable instance is presented, in which he must either do wrong or pay his portion, whatever it be, of these debts. It becomes him, if he for a moment hesitate, to make the subject a matter of serious and devout reflection. Let him ask himself, would I withhold from a man his due, and thus defraud my neighbor, for this sum, or for any sum? If I would do this, I must relinquish my hope of salvation; for in so doing, I clearly show that I love mammon better than Christ. The two masters cannot be served together. If I obey the one, I must deny the other. Can a Christian, Judas-like, barter his Master for pelf?

But this is not all. The character of Christianity, throughout the world, is involved in this question. We have been said, by a most intelligent observer,* to be the most religious nation on earth. But of what value is religion, if it makes not a people honest and faithful to their engagements? Should we fail, should these debts remain unpaid, the moral influence of Christianity may, with reason, be called in question. Hence, a public as well as private duty is devolved on every Christian citizen. He is bound, not only to pay his portion of this debt, but to use his whole influence to elevate, and purify, and sustain the moral sentiments of those around him. As a constituent, he should, without respect to party, elect such men as will do justly, without fear, favor, or affection. As a legislator, his voice and his vote should always be on the side of high honor and unimpeachable faith. Let men professing the religion of Christ do this, and a great act of justice will be done, and the character of our country will be nobly redeemed.

* De Tocqueville.

And it will be redeemed. We close, as we commenced, with expressing the belief, that this debt will be paid. It is not possible to prevent an honorable, virtuous, and high-minded people from doing an act of so manifest justice. We believe that very soon this work will be commenced. Pennsylvania and Maryland are already leading the way; and the movement will advance southward, until repudiation shall be driven into the Gulf of Mexico.

ARTICLE VII.

THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN.

THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN; *with Notes*, by J. T. CHAMPLIN, *Professor of Greek and Latin in Waterville College.* Boston. 1843.

THIS new edition of the Oration on the Crown, with a rich body of notes, must be a welcome present to the classical teacher. That such a work was needed, will be denied by no one who has attempted to use the shallow and inaccurate edition of Negris, or who knows the difficulty, either of teaching from the naked Leipsic text, or of procuring for his classes good foreign editions, with a suitable commentary.

Nor can any one reasonably doubt but that the masterpieces of Grecian oratory should form a part of the course of Greek study in the higher literary institutions of a free people. When despotic governments, like most of the German States, and a race of metaphysicians and critics, who always speak through the quill, having little occasion for popular or political eloquence, give the preference to the philosophers, the poets, and the historians, we are not surprised. Even the passion of the English prelates for the Greek tragedians ceases to be a wonder, when we consider the influences under which they were educated. Though the two national universities were ecclesiastical in their origin, and continue, in a great measure, to be such in their character, yet as their creed and their theology are irreconcilably at variance with each other, and as kings and politicians settle theological

questions, it is not difficult to divine why the young aspirants to clerical honors choose a circuitous path, by which they may escape the perils of theology. The Tory influence which has marked the history of the universities, particularly the university of Oxford, would more readily sympathize with any portion of Greek literature, than with those fiery speeches which were called forth in the deliberations of the fierce democracy of Athens. Finally, the accidental tastes of Porson, Elmsley, and others, the founders of the present English school of philology, determined the character of Greek scholarship in the universities.

But there are no such reasons why Athenian eloquence should hold a secondary rank in the American universities and colleges. We will not now speak of the Greek orations, as an essential part of Greek literature,—of their historical value, in illustrating Grecian life, manners, laws, and institutions,—of their merit as finished and well-nigh faultless productions of the Attic mind. Nor will we stop to compare them with the recorded speeches of the Roman orator, to whose study the youthful scholar devotes so much time and labor. What is true of Grecian literature, in general, as to its superiority over the Roman, in originality and freshness, in richness of material and perfection of form, is likewise true of Grecian eloquence as compared with the Roman. These various attractive qualities commend the study of the Attic orators equally to all lovers of literature, of whatever age or country. But to no people do those magnificent remains of the might of human speech come with such recommendations, as to the free citizens of our republic. No government, so much as ours, resembles the Athenian democracy. No where else, so much as in this land of freedom, bordering upon wantonness, and of boundless ambition, does the living voice approach so near to the sovereign sway which it once held over the thronging assemblages of the people in the city of Minerva. Our territory is, indeed, of much greater extent; our taste and intellectual refinement much less exquisite; but who that has felt the eloquence of Demosthenes, and beheld, in imagination, the scene in the midst of which he stood, has not, while contemplating the congregated multitudes which the political struggle, within the last few years, has rendered so familiar to us, been struck with their resemblance to the popular assemblies of Greece? The same spirit animated

the vast concourses. The same commingling of rank, and office, and talent characterized both. The same class of orators, addressing, with an electric power, all the sentiments and interests of the people, spoke to the very souls of their hearers. In both cases, they stood under the open heavens, and amid the most moving scenes of external nature.

Many of our readers have, within a twelve-month, had a truer picture of the Athenian *bema*, and all the surrounding scenery, than volumes of description could give them. On the seventeenth of June, the whole population of New England seemed to turn children of nature, in performing a patriotic pilgrimage to the spot where the first decisive blow was struck in the struggle which won our liberties. There were assembled the wisdom, and power, and wealth of more than one sovereign state. There were the highest authorities of the nation. There, too, was the Demosthenes of America. He spoke like a Grecian. Before him, towered, sublime, the monument of our fathers' valor and patriotism. Not far distant was the city, the mistress of American art, and old Faneuil Hall, the cradle of liberty, and the harbor, where the war-ship lay. Beneath him was the soil which had drunk the blood of our heroes. The orator stood forth like one accustomed to speak for a nation. With mien, and voice, and sentiment befitting the occasion, he spoke, and the very spirit of Washington seemed to be evoked. And yet the open sky above, and the cloud of mortals below, and the colossal pile, the personification of the simple but sublime virtues it would commemorate, and the whole panorama of nature and art, addressing every sense, and moving every sympathy, were not less eloquent than he. All this, both in spirit and in form, is what so often regaled and intoxicated the Athenian populace. When their unrivalled orator was before them, when a great occasion summoned all his energies, when the presence of the best auditory the city of Athens could furnish, maddened him into an oratorical inspiration, in which the glow of genius and of patriotism were blended into one, how eloquent were the Attic skies, and hills, and vales, the unnumbered monuments of ancient virtue which adorned the city, the harbor—to which he was accustomed to point—with its commerce, its navy, and its fortifications, the Propylæa, which was in full view, and the sacred wonders that crowned the Acropolis! Under such circum-

stances, the name of Athens was a charm, and the sound of liberty, a war-cry.

With this undeniable congeniality between the political eloquence of Greece and that of our own country, it is not surprising that the study of the Greek orators is reviving among us. The ambitious student, gentlemen of leisure, professional men, statesmen, as well as university teachers, are beginning to take a deeper interest in Demosthenes than ever before. Never were there, in this country, so many individuals, who employed their leisure hours in studying the oration on the Crown, as at this moment. Happy would it be, if the sublime political morality of that production could find its way into all our halls of legislation. It is humiliating to see the politicians of a Christian nation acting, in so many instances, on those shameless principles of partizanship, personal animosity and vulgar selfishness, for which this heathen statesman would have persuaded a heathen court to sentence them to banishment.

It is not our design, however, to advocate an exclusive, or even preponderant study of the orators. We only wish to see them placed side by side with the poets, the historians, and the philosophers. These must all blend their influence, if they are to produce their happiest effect upon the youthful mind. But we dismiss this topic and turn our attention to others, more immediately connected with the book before us.

It was impossible but that the general enthusiasm which was awakened, at the close of the last century, in Germany,—the only country where, in recent times, any additional light has been cast upon the Attic orators—an enthusiasm for examining afresh, with microscopic nicety and precision, every relic which has descended to us from antiquity, should not bring forth much that was new to illustrate every branch of ancient literature. The orations of the Grecian statesmen come in for their full share in these results. History, chronology, legal usages, political institutions, and all the branches of antiquities and criticism, stand in immediate connection with the remains of Athenian eloquence. The orations themselves are often the sources, from which the investigator laboriously collects his materials. The several passages thus relied on for evidence, are necessarily made the subject of numerous processes of inquiry. The genuineness and purity of the text, the import of its language, of its

peculiar, or technical terms, every thing, in short, connected with its grammatical interpretation, and the comparison of the statement with all the known facts relating to the same matter, are indispensable pre-requisites to every valid historical combination. Thus, if we follow the luminous path of such men as the two Hermanns, Böckh, Schäfer, or Müller, in their critical labors, we find it sparkling with scintillations of new light, like the night-passage of the engine on our rail-ways. Let any one take up the work on the Public Economy of Athens, or the Political Antiquities of Greece, for example, and he will be astonished to observe how many obscure passages in Demosthenes receive elucidation.

After reading the confused and prolix notes of most of the old commentators on Demosthenes, their prosing conjectures about Athenian jurisprudence, it is like coming into a new world to fall upon such works as Meier and Schömann's *Attic Trial*, Platner's *Trial and Prosecution among the Athenians*, Schömann's *Legal Antiquities of the Greeks*, and the works of Böckh and Hermann already mentioned. It may not be out of place to add, that the interpreter of Demosthenes will find most valuable assistance in Flathe's *History of Macedon*, Brückner's *King Philip of Macedon*, and Droysen's *Life of Alexander the Great*. Still nearer to his purpose will be Becker's *Demosthenes as a Statesman and an Orator*, of which a new edition is now in progress. We need a good account, in English, of the life and writings of Demosthenes. The most critical work of the kind, the article in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, written by Professor Ranke, formerly of Göttingen, now of Berlin, is inaccessible to American scholars. The most convenient biography of value is the *Vie de Démosthène*, by Boulée, published at Paris in 1834, which, though not written with the severity of German criticism, is, in point of completeness and mastery of the subject, far above the ordinary productions of the modern Parisian press.

Of the later editions of Demosthenes, that of Dobson, founded upon Bekker's text, contains an ample collection from the older commentators, with little of the spirit, or of the results of modern criticism. The most approved edition without notes is that of Dindorf, from Teubner's press, in Leipsic. Baiter and Sauppe's edition, with a new text, various readings and critical notes, though unfinished, has

already presented the oration on the Crown. In his *Critical and Exegetical Apparatus to Demosthenes*, Schäfer has added to the labors of others a rich contribution from his own pen. This work, in five volumes, though a little too costly, and containing much that relates merely to the purity of the text, is invaluable to the critical student. Two good editions of the *Philippic Orations*, with Latin notes, were completed in 1833, the one by Rüdiger, the other by Vömel. About the same time, Bremi prepared for the *Bibliotheca Graeca*, edited by Jacobs and Rost, an excellent school edition of *Select Orations of Demosthenes*. Professor Westermann characterizes these three works by saying that the commentary of Vömel is more historical, that of Bremi more grammatical, while that of Rüdiger combines both qualities in nearly equal proportions.

Beside the admirable work of Bremi, which alone of the three collections, just mentioned, contains the *Oration on the Crown*, there was a separate edition of that oration by Wunderlich, last published in 1838, a London edition, by Barker in 1831, of which we know nothing but the title, and a very valuable one by Dissen in 1837.

We have hastily examined Kennedy's *Translation of the speeches against Aphobus and Onetor*, 1842, and find it an interesting and instructive volume. More than half of it is devoted to excellent discussions and remarks on Athenian laws and institutions. It is the work of an erudite lawyer, who has adopted the manner of Sir William Jones, in his translation of *Isaeus*. The *Select Private Orations*, with English notes, by Penrose, published in 1843, have not fallen under our notice.

To the above-mentioned means of interpreting this oration of Demosthenes must be added the important volume of Wieniewski, entitled *Commentarii Historici et Chronologici in Demosthenis Orationem de Coronâ*, "a rich historical commentary on the period of Philip's reign, in which new light is shed on all the public actions of Demosthenes." Finally, there are numerous valuable dissertations, particularly those of Vömel, Westermann, and Droysen, published separately, and in the philological journals of Germany, pertaining to this and other orations of Demosthenes, which can hardly be dispensed with by the critical interpreter.

Our object in taking this survey of the recent Demosthenean literature, has been to indicate the ground over which one must travel in order to a thorough preparation for the editor's task. He who has a good knowledge of the Greek language to begin with, who has made the Attic Orators his more particular study, who has carefully read the other orations of Demosthenes, and that of Aeschines against Ctesiphon, with special reference to this, and who has, moreover, made himself acquainted with the labors of others on the same subject, is prepared to do justice to himself and to the public, in attempting the difficult and responsible work of editing the Oration on the Crown.

We are aware that these are high qualifications, and such as are rarely found among us. But they ought not to be above the aims of our more favored scholars; and must not be, if classical learning is to rise, in our country, to that rank to which it seems to be aspiring. Until such a spirit, as is just beginning to manifest itself among us, shall come over our colleges and higher seats of learning generally, and impart a glow of enthusiasm to every new generation of students, classical learning will continue to be in them more a name than a reality. High aims, both in teachers and pupils, indomitable energy, and untiring perseverance, such as our unrivalled business men exhibit, is all that is wanting to give our nation a place of more than respectability among the promoters of ancient learning.

We confess, no one has yet fully met the demands, which, in the present age, are made upon an editor of this inimitable oration. Demosthenes has not yet, like Plato, found his Stalbaum. Bremi's work, in many respects, comes nearest our beau ideal of a school edition. But we have some unsatisfied desires,—*pia desideria*,—which we might venture to breathe even to him. While all who have consulted his work, discover in it evidence of excellent grammatical knowledge, and skill in dealing it out, in the right place, and in proper measure, they, at the same time, perceive a deficiency in the historical and antiquarian elements of a commentary. Dissen possessed all the learning, and had within reach all the means requisite for collecting whatever the present and past generations had done towards illustrating the Oration on the Crown; and though his edition appears to be one of the best, yet, if we may judge from a partial examination, he has failed in

some particulars. The rhetorical character of Demosthenes' style is that to which he gave most attention ; his notes on other topics, though rich and valuable, are less elaborate. Probably the encroachments of his fatal disease compelled him to break away from severer studies, and only the hours which he could gain from protracted illness were given to the completion of that work, which had been a favorite project with him for many years. This was his last work, and was published after his death.

Professor Champlin has done all that could be reasonably expected of him. Like many others, among the younger valuable professors in our colleges, he gave himself exclusively to these studies, not many years ago. He has shown not only great industry in studying the more important critical helps which are to be found in the Latin and English languages, but an order of mind, by no means common,—a strength of intellect and a solidity of judgment, which render his debut before the literary and critical world highly creditable. If, as he modestly intimates in his preface, and as we truly desire, he shall continue to prosecute his studies with unabated zeal, and besides exhibiting the power of penetrating by his own sagacity so deeply into the spirit of his author, and working out and bringing together so much valuable matter, he shall extend his study of the language and his critical reading more widely, we may safely predict that he will, in a few years, occupy no mean place among the classical scholars of his country. We welcome him to this field of study, and wish him all success in his laudable endeavors.

We think we might point out some mistakes in his book, and some omissions of explanation where it is needed. We had marked several passages, some of them doubtful in their meaning, for discussion ; but we cannot enter upon the examination of them without protracting the present article to an undue length. If we might venture a suggestion to the author, in whose labors the work before us has awakened a deep interest, it would be, that in future editions he pay more attention proportionably to the rigid *philological* method, adopted by Stallbaum and Kühner in their commentaries. We are the more particular on this point, because we wish to see him quite at the opposite pole from the poorer and more numerous class of American editors. A miserable way of commenting upon an author, by merely translating difficult

passages, and remarking upon any thing rather than the grounds of the translation, has long rendered American text-books of the classics a by-word. Hence, the better order of teachers in our colleges endeavor to supply their classes with the more thoroughly philological German editions. Nothing but the cheapness of the ordinary class of American editions, and the convenience of procuring them, prevents their banishment from all our schools. There is scarcely a greater evil in the academies and colleges of our country, than the necessity of imposing upon the generous youth who resort thither for stimulus and guidance in study, insipid and lifeless text-books, which settle all questions of philology authoritatively and categorically, which crush all ambition for scholarship in the bud, and inspire nothing but despondency and disgust. But these things are rapidly passing, and in not a few instances, have already passed away. Several of our most eminent and successful teachers have, within a few years, sent forth a new order of text-books from the American press; and, to come back to Professor Champlin, whose book has been innocently made the occasion of these strictures, to this latter class of teachers he himself belongs.

There are two topics in particular, not disconnected with the subject of this oration, which have recently engaged the attention of critics; the genuineness of the public documents contained in it, and the integrity of the orator's character.

The explanation of the decrees, laws, and other documents from the public records, as they now stand in the text, has given much trouble to commentators. That they are, in their present form and connections, irreconcilable with each other and with the facts, as learned from the two *Orations on the Crown*, and in some cases obviously false, is acknowledged by all who have studied the subject. These documents occur regularly in twenty-seven instances, and then, all of a sudden, they disappear in the remaining. Why was Demosthenes so careful at the beginning, and so negligent at the end, of his written copy? The last were no less important to the oration than the first. In fourteen cases, the name of the Archon is correctly given but once. There are numerous chronological discrepancies, which it is not easy to reconcile. In several instances, the document, and the argument of Demosthenes founded on it, seem to have little or nothing in common. Besides these, many difficulties in

insulated facts occur, which, of themselves, however, cannot be allowed to be decisive. Some of the latest distinguished critics have, in consequence of the foregoing considerations, boldly pronounced all the documents to be spurious, the fabrications of later sophists and grammarians. The ablest advocate of this view is Professor Droysen, of Kiel, who, in 1839, published, at Berlin, a volume on the subject, a separate reprint of an article which appeared first in one of the philological journals. Vömel, in his reply to him, observes, "Professor Droysen has recently attempted to demonstrate the spuriousness of the documents in the *Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown*, with a degree of acuteness and learning which no one has exhibited before him. To the various insulated objections which this philologist and historian has brought forward, I have already replied in my *Programs*, [annual dissertations in the universities and gymnasias]. His chief ground of argument, namely, that their chronological data are irreconcilable with the history of the transactions to which they refer, I think, I shall be able to overturn by presenting a chronological view of the events from the peace of Philocrates to that which followed the battle of Cheronæa, or from 347 to 338 before Christ." The *Chronology of the Documents in the Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown*, from which these words are taken, is a dissertation of forty pages in Welcker's *Rhenish Museum*, for the year 1842. This article gives evidence, beyond any thing we have read on the subject, that the author has grown gray in the study of Demosthenes. It may be doubted, whether any living scholar has such an extensive and critical knowledge of the historical details pertaining to the orations of Demosthenes, as this Frankfort professor. His treatises, on the War of Amphipolis; on the History, Government, and Overthrow of Olynthus; on the Peace of Amyntas, and his other works already referred to, are what might be expected from a man who, for a long series of years, had made the writings of the orator his chief study. The two *Programs*, in reply to Droysen, published in 1841 and 1842, we have not seen. Of the first one, Jahn, in his *Annals of Philology*, remarks: "This dissertation is a very important contribution to the elucidation of those documents, and is worthy of the special attention of all who are engaged in these studies. Droysen, rejecting the hypothesis of Böckh,

according to which the names of the secretaries of the Prytany were put in the place of those of the Archons, endeavored to disprove their genuineness. Vömel defends Böckh's view, and maintains that, as Franz has shown in his *Elementa Epigraphices*, the superscription of documents of this class is often erroneous; that the text of the documents found in the oration of Demosthenes is often corrupt; and that the documents themselves are not those which Demosthenes gave to the Reader in court, but that they were taken, at a later period, from the archives; and that sometimes the wrong paper was selected, and oftener the proper one was misplaced in the oration. This first dissertation contests the view presented by Droysen, and is a reply to a certain class of particular objections; and the author has succeeded in such a degree, that it may be regarded as a triumphant refutation."

We have before us the second number of the *Classical Museum* for 1843, in which there is an elaborate article on the same subject, by Professor Newman, of Manchester New College. The article was written "in ignorance that several dissertations on the subject had already appeared in Germany." This is to be regretted; for many of the arguments adduced to prove that the documents are later fabrications, only prove that Demosthenes did not incorporate them into the oration with his own hand. Others only show, that either the papers were, in some particulars, falsely copied, or that the text here, as in the oration itself, has been corrupted, or that the documents were not selected and inserted with sufficient care. Professor Newman's strongest arguments are drawn from the discrepancies in chronology, on which he certainly would have written much better, if he had read what Vömel had written before him. Though the article displays great reasoning powers, and a familiarity with the orations of Demosthenes, it is, with all its plausibility, inconclusive, from the circumstance, that the author had only a part of the facts before him, as any one will see from Vömel's statements, and that, in the chronological argument, he has overleaped many links which must come into the chain of a complete deduction. Hereafter, it will be incumbent on editors of the *Oration on the Crown* to pay attention to this comparatively new field of criticism, and to set the interpretation of these documents in a clearer light.

The admirers of the eloquence of Demosthenes have always attributed no small share of its excellence and power to the elevated character of his moral sentiments, and have, therefore, been reluctant to believe, that such uniform dignity of principle as he manifested, both in his orations, and in the general tenor of his public life, could have consisted with the corruption with which he has been charged. Becker, in the work already mentioned, has attempted to show that the known conduct of Demosthenes, in the case of Harpalus, is perfectly reconcilable with his general character and political life; that the Macedonian party in Athens could easily take advantage of these circumstances to cast suspicion upon him, and to bring against him, with much plausibility, the charge of corruption; and that, for a time, party spirit, in fickle Athens, already fallen and corrupt, might so far prevail, that even the Areopagus would yield to it, as a subsequent reaction in the popular sentiment by which he was recalled, seems to render probable.

Droysen, in his life of Alexander, has revived the old suspicions against the purity of the orator's character. His words are: "Modern historians have felt obliged to represent the great orator under the character of a paragon of purity,—of a saint, in respect to corruption, just as though the greatest genius for eloquence were wholly incompatible with a Grecian love of gold." Professor Westermann, who has made the Attic orators his chief study, has, in the third part of his *Quaestiones Demosthenicae*, and elsewhere, taken up the defence of this noblest of the ancient orators. He has pretty nearly proved that the oration of Dinarchus against Demosthenes, which the assailants of the latter have employed in evidence against him, is not genuine; but that it is the crude fabrication of a later sophist, who drew largely upon Aeschines, not only for the matter, but for the very language of his tirade. Certainly, there is no truth in the mass of the absurd charges brought against the great Athenian statesman in that scurrilous production. Westermann is followed by Eysell, who, in a work published in 1836, has treated at large of the subject of the historical evidence against Demosthenes, and has shown, that there are, both in the oration of Dinarchus, and in the author of the clumsy work on the *Ten Attic Orators*, and in Plutarch, more contradictions than the learned have been in the habit of supposing. Funkhanel, another

German scholar, who has distinguished himself by his labors on Demosthenes, has given a summary of the argument in Jahn's *Annals of Philology* for the year 1837, and has increased the suspicions which lie against those contradictory accounts of the bribery of Demosthenes. The result of all this recent investigation is thus given by Westermann, in an article on Demosthenes, in Pauly's *Classische Encyclopädie*: "The accounts are so confused, that it is scarcely possible to arrive at a clear view of the case [*i. e.* of Harpalus]. Theopompus, as quoted by Plutarch, and Dinarchus accuse Demosthenes of bribery; but the authority of these witnesses, especially of Dinarchus, is of a very doubtful character. Certainly the counter testimony of Pausanias is of equal weight. If we take into view the want of agreement among these witnesses in certain parts of their testimony, and consider the deportment of Demosthenes during the whole transaction,—first, his opposition to the reception of Harpalus, then his official conduct in apprehending him, and finally, his demand for trial, and connect with these circumstances what we otherwise know of his character, we shall feel constrained to dismiss from our minds all suspicions of his being guilty of common bribery." Niebuhr and Ranke had before decided the point in the same way.

We may add, in conclusion, that it is not merely the greatness of the talents, or the genius of Demosthenes, as Droysen intimates, which has led men to infer his integrity, but his moral greatness, the invariable sentiment of right on which he planted himself, making what was honorable and noble in itself the rule of his political conduct, a principle which could not bend from its course by any consideration of consequences, and in obedience to which this exalted Socratic moralist maintained that all men ought to be ready to bow to whatever outward evils a divine Providence might send. It is this moral heroism, this spirit of martyrdom, not only burning in the orator's own bosom, but blazing forth and seeking to kindle its sacred fires in every Athenian breast not already dead to every lofty sentiment, and even to the recollection of ancestral virtue,—it is this, which has compelled the great and the good in every age to recognize Demosthenes as a kindred spirit; and the recent experiment shows that it will be a difficult matter, without some new sources of evidence, to reverse the decision.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE RIGHT USE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

SENTIMENTS OF THE CHURCH-FATHERS *on the right use of the Holy Scriptures.* By DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER.
Translated from the German by the Editor.

IN the middle ages, the knowledge of the simple plan of salvation was darkened by artful systems, invented by human sagacity. An imposing ritual was instituted for the purpose of promoting the religion of the ignorant multitude. This ritual, however, produced little feeling. It operated more upon the imagination and the taste, than upon the heart and the entire man. But, through that Providence which always works in a silent and unseen manner, and by mysterious combinations of events, the knowledge of the Scriptures suddenly broke forth again upon the people, through zealous men who came from the East. Illiterate laymen, mechanics and peasants, grasped this food for the mind and heart, with an avidity which even the terrors of the stake could not check. And, by reading the Divine word with an unsophisticated spirit, they obtained a lively knowledge of the highest truths, which scattered light over all their relations in life.* The

* Rainer, a Dominican of the thirteenth century (Bib. Patr. Lugd., T. 25), attributes the spreading of sects (having reference especially to the Waldenses), to three causes:—1. That men and women, small and great, cease not, day or night, either to teach or to learn. The mechanic, who labors by day, teaches or learns at night. 2. That they have the Bible translated into their own tongue, and use it as the basis of their instructions. He saw an ignorant peasant, who could repeat the book of Job, word for word; and many, who knew by heart the whole New Testament. 3. The ignorance of the clergy. If a preacher of the established church advances points which he cannot prove from the New Testament, they put down the whole as fables. The same writer says of them, "They live by the labor of their hands as mechanics. Shoemakers are their teachers. They seek not riches, but are contented with things necessary. They do not go to ale-houses, nor to public dances, nor to any vain amusements. They are never angry. Their time is occupied partly in labor, and partly in teaching and learning. They go, in the character of peddlers, to the houses of the rich. After they have sold all their jewels, if they are asked whether they have any thing more to sell, they reply, 'Yes, we will give you far more costly things, if you will not betray us to the priests.' Then they proceeded: 'We have a precious stone which shines so brilliantly that man comes to the knowledge of God in the light of it; and another, which kindles the love of God in the heart of its possessor; and then they quote a few passages of Scripture.'" Similar effects were produced by Luther's translation of the Bible at the beginning of the Reformation, as Cochleus, a violent opposer of the Reformation, acknowledges, in his "Commentatio de actis

sacred writings were important to men of all times, because there they found the plan of salvation set forth as God had revealed it. Besides, this plan is developed in them in a manner so well adapted to the various phases of human nature, that those who attentively read the Bible in its connection, and especially the New Testament, as the peculiar guide-book of Christians, together with the Old, as the key of it, and written in the same spirit, have learned to apply it to all the relations of life, in a manner to which, without such help, they would not have easily attained. But let us hear the testimony to the value and right use of the Scriptures, and to the necessity of a familiar acquaintance with them, borne by men of rare merit in the early history of the church—men, differing in education, but agreeing in this, that they were imbued with the spirit of these writings, that they owed to them whatever they esteemed most highly, and labored, through the Spirit that inspired them, for the salvation of their fellow-men. A few weighty sentences often leave upon us a deep and efficacious impression.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in the last part of the second century, in a controversy with those who made religion a matter of speculation, instead of applying it to their own lives, and who explained the Bible arbitrarily, according to their speculative systems, says :* “By the light of nature, we can attain only to the knowledge of some things, but must leave the explanation of others to God. Why, then, should it seem strange that in the Holy Scripture, also, which is wholly the work of God, while we are able, by the grace of God, to interpret much that awakens inquiry, we should, in like manner, be obliged to leave some things to him, not only for this life, but also for the future, that God may always be the teacher, and man, always the learner? In this view, we shall find the inspired Scripture consistent with itself, the obscurer passages interpreted by those which are plain, and, in its manifold variety, one divine harmony.”

et scriptis Lutheri ad A 1522.”—“Shoemakers, women, and the most ignorant persons among the Lutherans, if they had only learned to read German, were ambitious to read the New Testament, as the fountain of all truth. They carried it with them in their pockets, and read it so frequently that they learned it by heart. Hence, within a few months, they laid claim to such knowledge, that they were ready to dispute concerning creeds and the gospel, not only with Catholic laymen, but even with priests, monks and doctors of divinity.”

* L. II adv. hæress, c. 18, § 3.

Clement, the learned teacher of the school of Alexandria, who wrote somewhat later, says:* "If any man's eye has been darkened by a wrong education, let him hasten to the proper light, the truth, which reveals, through the Scripture, that which is truly sublime. The word of God kindles a spiritual light, and elevates the eye to the perception of it, partly by communicating something new to the soul, like the graft inserted in the tree; and partly by stimulating that which is already in it." He compares the operation of the Holy Scripture on the religious feeling, or the divine principle in man which it presupposes, to the operation of the magnet on the iron; it follows, like this, drawn by the power of an invisible spirit.†

Origen, the successor of Clement, a man of comprehensive and various knowledge, which was united in him with love to divine things as an animating principle, writes:‡ "He who reads the Scriptures with care and attention is penetrated with a feeling of their divinity; he is convinced by his own experience that the Scriptures, given by God, are not the work of man. If the unpractised eye does not at once perceive the divine impress of the thought, it is not strange; for even in the operations of an all-pervading Providence, while much is most evidently the work of Providence, in many things also the hand of God, governing every thing with invisible skill and power, is so much concealed as to seem to provoke unbelief. We have this treasure, the Holy Scripture, in earthen vessels; that the excellency of the power of God may be the more evident; and that we may not be tempted to regard it as a work of human wisdom." He wrote in a letter to his former scholar,§ the young Gregory, on the right way of coming to the understanding of divine things: "My son, above all things, read with attention the Holy Scriptures. I say, with attention; for those divine writings must be read with great care, that we may not speak or

* Stromat., L. I., p. 274, ed. Paris.

† L. II., p. 370.

‡ Philocal., c. 9.

§ Philoc., c. 13. Gregory was a young scholar from a distinguished family with whom Origen became acquainted, just as he was about to go to a celebrated law-school, and to prepare himself for a brilliant worldly career. Origen drew him to himself by the attractions of his philosophical lectures. He then led him, step by step, from philosophy to the sanctuary of divine wisdom; and inspired him with such enthusiasm for it, that he wholly renounced his former plans of life, consecrated himself to the service of religion, and became an instrument chosen of God for its diffusion.

judge too hastily of their meaning. If you continue to read the Holy Scriptures in a believing spirit, according to the will of God, knocking thus, that which is shut will be opened to you by the door-keeper, according to the words of Christ in the gospel of John, chap. 10: 3. But knocking and seeking is not enough. Prayer is most needful for the understanding of divine things. To this our Saviour admonishes us, who says, not merely, 'seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you;' but also, 'ask and it shall be given you.' "

No teacher of the ancient church took a livelier interest in the diffusion of the word of God among both heathen and Christians, than Chrysostom, in the end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth century. Glowing with a pious zeal, he labored with untiring activity in the cities which were then the strongholds of luxury and vice, Antioch, the ancient capital of Asia, and Constantinople, the second city of the great Roman empire. He remarked that the mere hearing of his sermons, for the sake of their eloquence, could conduce but little to the reformation of a frivolous population; it could be of no use to them, until religion should become the business of life. He regarded an intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures the best means to produce this effect, and used every method in his power to promote it—as the following quotations from his sermons in those cities clearly show. The testimony of this father must be the more valuable to men of all times, because his life, ever active in the defence of truth and goodness against all the artifices of sin, devoted to God under all sufferings, a genuine witness of Christ, contains a more striking argument for after-ages, than his eloquent addresses.

In a sermon preached at Antioch, about the year 390, on the necessity and utility of a general attention to the Bible, Chrysostom says: "Intimate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures is a true paradise, more sublime than that of Eden. God has planted this rich garden, not in the dark soil of the earth, but in the souls of believers. He has not limited it to one spot, but spread it over the whole earth; as the psalmist says: 'Their sound is gone out into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.'—Ps. 19: 5; Rom. 10: 18. You may go to the distant East, to the Indies, to the Ocean, and the British isles; you may sail to the Black Sea, or trav-

el to the South ; every where you will find the Holy Scriptures acknowledged as the fountain of wisdom. You will meet various languages, but one faith ; numerous tongues, but one sentiment ; barbarians in speech, wise men in soul. This paradise, moreover, has a fountain, like that—a fountain issuing from a thousand streams, not four ; for He that gave us these living streams has said (John 7 : 38), ‘ He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.’ This fountain is to be admired not only for the number, but also for the character of its streams ; they are not rivers of water, but the out-gushings of the Holy Spirit. It flows into the soul of every believer, yet it is not diminished. Every one enjoys the whole, yet is there the same for all. Its nature is known from its effects. Its value is not confined to this life, but reaches to the immortal. Let us, therefore, persevere in reading the Scriptures. For as they who sit at the fountain enjoy the cool air wafted from its waters, and, under the scorching heat, a refreshing bath, checking the ardent glow and quenching their burning thirst ; so he that sits by the fountain of the Holy Scriptures, when he is tormented by the fire of inward lust, can easily bathe his soul in that fountain, and allay the heat. When anger rages in his heart, he needs only to apply a drop from that fountain, and the tempest is stilled. By the reading of the Holy Scriptures, the soul is rescued from the power of evil thoughts, as if from the midst of the fire. Hence David compares the man who lives in constant communion with the Holy Scriptures, to a thriving tree, planted by the water-courses, which is continually watered by the stream at its root, and secured from the parching heat. So the soul, which bathes in that fountain and is refreshed by the dew of the divine Spirit, is proof against the vicissitudes of outward things, whether sickness, injustice, calumny, insult or scorn. If all the evil in the world should assail such a soul, it has support and consolation in the Holy Scriptures. No wealth, no splendor of power, no charm of worldly joy, no human possession can comfort the suffering, like the reading of the word of God. Every thing else belongs to transient things ; it can, therefore, yield only a transient consolation. The reading of the Holy Scriptures is communion with God. What worldly event can dishearten him, to whom, in his despondency, God speaks consolation ? Let us, therefore, read the Scriptures, not mere-

ly these two hours ; for to hear them speak once only can give us no security ; we must hold constant intercourse with them. Let every one, when he returns home, take his Bible, and review for himself the thoughts of the sermon, if he wishes to receive enduring benefit from the Holy Scriptures. The tree, planted by the water-courses, is not in contact with the water two or three hours only, but all the day and all the night. Hence the richness of its blossoms and the abundance of its fruit, without the aid of man ; because it draws up the moisture through the roots, and distributes it by canals to the whole trunk. So he who constantly reads the word of God, and dwells by it, as the tree by the river, receives great good, communicating itself from the root to his whole being, even though he have no interpreter."

Chrysostom used various means to engage the members of his congregation in the personal study of the Bible. Often, he preached several sermons on one text. Sometimes he broke off from his discourse just at the point where the interest of his audience was most intense in respect to what he would say further. Sometimes, he announced beforehand from what text, and on what topic drawn from it, he should next preach, in order to lead his hearers, in the mean time, to reflect upon certain truths of religion, under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures. Attentive to the expressions and the disposition of men, on which he had to operate, he observed that his endeavors to promote the general reading of the Scriptures were often repelled with the assertion, that it was the business of monks, not of the common people ; while, nevertheless, every Christian, as such, being separated in feeling from the world, is dead to it ; and the remainder of his life in the world he should live in God, in whom his life here below is hid. In the Christian life, as all distinctions founded in the flesh, that is, on external, earthly relations, are abolished, so, also, is the distinction between the spiritual and the worldly. All who are baptized into Christ, who have put on Christ, have consecrated their lives to him. They have thus become spiritual, they live in the spirit, whatever be their calling in the world. Not led captive by the world and its spirit, but inspired with love to God, they pursue their worldly calling as one entrusted to them by God, and seek to be guided in it by the Spirit of God, to walk according to the rule of his word. It was a favorite object of

Chrysostom to show the worthlessness of this false view. He opposed it in a beautiful sermon at Antioch:* "Let no one tell me, in cold and false apology, that he is busied with affairs of state, or that he must attend to his trade, or that he must take care of his house and family, or that it is not his business to read the Scriptures; that belongs to those who have renounced the world and live upon mountain-tops. But what dost thou mean? Is it not thy business to acquaint thyself with the Holy Scriptures, because thou art distracted by a thousand cares? On the contrary, it is the more necessary; for they who have renounced the world, and who live on mountain-tops, do not need the aid of the Holy Scriptures, so much as those who are perplexed by various business. He that is in the battle and receives many wounds, needs the more resources for healing. Our souls are exposed to many dangers. We need the divine physician to heal the wounds we have received, and to preserve us from receiving more. We need to extinguish the fiery darts of Satan which are directed against us, by the constant reading of the word of God." He compares the Christian to an artizan, who would rather lose every thing than the tools used in his business; for if these be safe, he can gain every thing again. "The tools of our art are the writings of the apostles and prophets,—all Scripture, given by inspiration of God, and useful for instruction. As they, by their tools, can fashion any vessel, so we fashion, by the Scriptures, our own souls; we make that straight which was crooked, and give life to that which was dead. The mechanic's skill, however, can change the form only; not the material. The skill of the Holy Scriptures can do more. Of a wooden vessel, it can make a golden one, as the apostle shows: 2 Tim. 2: 20, 21. Let us, therefore, not delay to furnish ourselves with Bibles, that we may not receive wounds which affect the very seat of life. Let us accumulate, not money, but the sacred writings. While we carefully read them, the soul is enlarged and improved, and God holds communion with us through them. The grace of the Holy Spirit moved uneducated men, tax-gatherers, fishermen, and shepherds to compose these writings, that no uneducated person should complain that they are

* H. III, de Lazaro, T. I, 737.

above him; that they might be intelligible to all; that the artizan, and even the slave, might reap advantage from reading them. Prophets and apostles, as the common teachers of the world, wrote clearly, that every man might understand that which is written, by a personal perusal of it. To whom is not the gospel clear, when it says, 'Blessed are the merciful. 'Blessed are the pure in heart?' Is a teacher needed to explain it? Read in connection the passages which are dark to thee. Hold fast what is clear. Repeat often the reading of that which is obscure. If thou canst not understand it by frequent reading, consult a learned man; consult a teacher. Show that thou art in earnest; and God will not be regardless of thy endeavor. If man cannot interpret the word for thee, he will reveal it himself. Remember the treasurer of the queen of Ethiopia (Acts viii). God acknowledged his zeal, and sent him such a teacher as Philip. Philip is no more; but the Spirit who inspired. Philip still lives."

Chrysostom, as bishop of Constantinople, once wished to give the high-minded and cultivated Greeks of that city a striking proof of the invincible power of the divine word. In the midst of that seat of Greek learning and refinement, he caused a minister belonging to a Gothic tribe but recently brought to the knowledge of Christianity, to enter St. Paul's church, to read a text from the Gothic translation of the Bible, and to preach in the Gothic language. It was then the custom to despise these rude tribes, who were destitute of Greek culture, as half-men. While it was acknowledged that they possessed bodily power, it was denied that they had any susceptibility of spiritual cultivation. A sermon from a minister of such a race, in his own language, must, therefore, have excited the more surprise. Chrysostom preached an impressive discourse in reference to it, from which we quote the following passages: "I would that the heathen were present to-day, that they might learn how great is the power of the cross. Where are the schools of the philosophers of Athens? They have vanished away. And where are the doctrines of the tent-makers? They shine, clearer than the sun, not in the Indies alone, but even in the tongues of barbarians, as you have heard to-day. Scythians, Thracians, Sauromatians, Moors, Indians, and the dwellers in the ends of

the earth, have them all translated into their own language, and draw wisdom from their divine teaching. They have spurned all outward splendor. Their wisdom is manifested in their strong thoughts. By deed and life, they show to all the divine grace which dwells in them. By these means they have drawn into the gospel-net the cultivated and barbarians, the rich and the poor, men and women, the aged and the young, till the doctrines of the gospel have reached to the ocean, and even to the isles of the British barbarians.* Wherever you go, you will hear the names of the fishermen in the mouths of all, not through their own power, but through the power of the Crucified, who has every where opened for them a way. Let no one, therefore, think that I have dishonored the church, by bringing a barbarian to preach in it; for it is an honor to the church, a proof of the power of faith."

Chrysostom, on the right use of the Scriptures, says:† "We read the Holy Scriptures in vain, we interpret them in vain, if we do not use them for improvement. As one who, in a fencing-school, has learned all the methods of attack, but when he comes into a contest makes no use of them, so is he who has learned all the artifices of Satan, but when he is assailed, he suffers himself to be deceived by him." In speaking of the consolation which the Scripture imparts, he says:‡ "The Holy Scripture gives us great consolation, not only in all outward trials, but even when we have fallen into sin. When a man, daily consumed by torturing anguish, despairs in himself, and the consolations spoken by his fellow-men bring him no peace, if he visits the church and hears that many pious men who had fallen have risen again, his heart is comforted. If a man console us in our trouble, and for a short time we seem to be cheered, we soon fall back again into despondency. But when God himself speaks to us through other sinners, who have repented and been forgiven, he makes known to us his mercy in such a way that we can no longer be in doubt."

* When Chrysostom said this, he did not anticipate that the islands of which he here spoke were destined to become one of the most favored seats of the Christian church; and, by the elevated Christian spirit of their inhabitants, to spread again these writings among many people, deprived of the light of the gospel, and even among the unhappy posterity of those very Christians, among whom he spoke these words.

† H. II, On the Obscurity of the Prophets, Part VI, p. 192.

‡ From Homily IV, On Repentance and Prayer, Part I, p. 303.

At the same period in which Chrysostom gave to the fallen Greeks an example of genuine piety, St. Augustine shone, the light of the Western church, a man whose profound spirit was lighted up with divine doctrine. He is distinguished by having taken deeper views of human nature than any one before him. He had learned by long, personal experience, under many outward and inward trials, what necessity does for man. He had become acquainted with those developments of human nature, which a person, keeping the even tenor of his way, without special temptations or excitements, without any violent internal impulses, urging him hither and thither, does not perceive. When a young man, in his first seeking after truth, for which his noble spirit from a very early period panted, he turned his attention to the Holy Scriptures, which a pious mother had taught him to venerate. But it was experience that brought him to understand the Bible. He says of himself, in respect to this period : " My pride resisted its humbling truths. My understanding did not penetrate its spiritual meaning. Its method is to grow with the child, opening its mysteries as the mind opens to appreciate them ; but I disdained to begin as a child." During ten years of painful experience, he engaged in many controversies, but found no rest. Though he was excited and kindled by the writings of the Platonic philosophy, he was neither satisfied nor quieted ; and afterwards he returned, with new interest, to the Holy Scriptures. He describes his experience in these words of thanksgiving to God : " Thou sufferedst me to fall upon the Platonic writings before the Bible, that afterwards, brought by this into a state of repose, and healed of my wounds, I might see what a difference there is between imagination and self-knowledge ; between seeing the thing for which we are to strive, without the way leading to it, and finding the way in which we are not only to see that blessed land afar off, but also to become inhabitants of it. For had I been early instructed in thy Holy Scriptures, and, through intimate converse with them, found my joy in thee, and afterwards come, for the first time, to those Platonic books, they might, perhaps, have alienated me from true religion.— Or, if I had continued in my spiritual integrity, I might have believed that Platonism could originate in pious feelings."

The same author, on the proper study of the Holy Scrip-

ture, says: "The spirit and aim of all inspired Scripture is love to those who are capable, like ourselves, of receiving the highest blessings. He who thinks that he has arrived at the understanding of the Holy Scripture without any degree of it, without promoting by this understanding the love of God and his neighbor, has, as yet, understood nothing."

"In the first place, the Holy Scripture must lead every one to the consciousness that he is taken up with the love of this world, that is, of temporal things, and far from so great love to God and his neighbor, as the Scripture prescribes. The humble acknowledgment of the revealed truth in itself produces, then, in a man, not proud self-gratulation, but repentance. With this emotion, he obtains, through importunate prayer, the consolation of divine grace in his heart, so that he ceases to despond, and begins to hunger and thirst after righteousness. This state of mind withdraws him from the fatal allurements of transitory things, and leads him to the love of God. If he now perceives eternity beaming from afar, and finds that his eye is too weak to comprehend its light, he strives to purify his still imperfect and restless soul. He strives to exercise himself in active love, extending even to his enemies, and advances in it more and more. He rises to a point where his eye is purified to see God, as he can be seen by him only who is dead to the world; for only in proportion as one is dead to the world can he see God. He becomes a man of such holy endeavor, with so simple and pure a heart, that neither the desire to please men, nor the fear of any disadvantage to his earthly condition, can draw him away from the truth."*

There have been times when the blessed influence of this holy book, fitted to enlighten all ages, has been obstructed by the conceit of human imagination, by the unworthiness of those spiritual teachers, whose high calling it is to lead their brethren to the understanding and use of it, through their own knowledge and experience. But such times furnish the clearest proof that human nature most undeniably demands divine instruction. If a man do not profit by the recorded experiences of others, Providence leads him to those experiences which are necessary for him in his own person. There

* De Doctrina Christiana, L. I., C. 35.

is something deeply rooted in human nature of a higher order, to which nothing in the present world corresponds ;— something which is not satisfied with all that the world can give him, which every where reaches forth towards infinity. This unearthly element may be long pressed down under earthly feeling, by which the man melts and confounds his essential being with that which is earthly ; but then, with new authority it asserts its rights, as our own time, and similar periods formerly, as the age before the advent of Christ, or before the Reformation, prove. Yet this something within us is not the source of religion, any more than hunger is the source of food. Left to itself, without higher nourishment and guidance, which man cannot impart to himself, it works destruction without and within. This has been observed by men of experience in times when this higher impulse was aroused without the guidance of heavenly teaching. Gerson, the great chancellor of the University of Paris in the fifteenth century, a man rich in experience, reproved the wild excesses of many enthusiasts of his age, who sought only for feeling, and, as it were, consumed themselves in it. Hence those numerous enthusiasts in the time of the Reformation, and that spirit of fanaticism which then revealed itself, would have been far more destructive and produced more wild outbreaks, if the pure gospel had not brought to light, and impressed upon men's individual consciousness, the religious wants which they but dimly apprehended ; if the power of the gospel had not tamed the wild spirits, and led them to discretion. We experience something similar in our own times. Our age speaks loudly the one necessity, that man should receive the heavenly nourishment which alone can satisfy and strengthen him ; that the word of God should again dwell in the hearts of men, which alone, as is proved by the experience of all times, can silence the lower impulses, and control and direct the highest, in such a manner that they shall diffuse warmth and vitality within and without.

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

1. *Christian Mourning. A Discourse delivered at the Funeral of Rev. LUCIUS BOLLES, D. D., late Secretary of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.* By DANIEL SHARP. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 44. 1844.

THE theme of this discourse, founded on John 11: 35, is the propriety of mourning for deceased friends, as not an exhibition of unreconciliation to the will of God, but an amiable expression of the esteem in which we held the departed, and defensible on the ground of reason, Scripture and common sense. At the grave of Lazarus, Jesus wept. The sermon is an eloquent tribute to the memory of departed excellence, and the sketch it gives of the late Secretary of the Foreign Missionary Board, is just, full and discriminating.

Dr. Bolles was born at Ashford, Conn., Sept. 25, 1779, and graduated at Brown University, then under the presidency of Dr. Maxcy, in 1801. He became a hopeful subject of renewing grace about the middle of his second year in college; and, having completed his collegiate studies, entered upon a course of theological training, under Rev. Dr. Stillman, then pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston. With that eloquent man, he "was associated, as a son with a father in the gospel, for about three years." During that period, when he was not preaching, he sat under the ministry of his venerable tutor, thus enjoying, in actual observation, the best opportunity of becoming familiar with the art of sermonizing. He often accompanied him in his visits, and thus obtained knowledge of his habits in the performance of pastoral duties. About this time, a few persons in Salem, Mass., members of Baptist churches in other towns, began to assemble together on the Sabbath for public worship. Among those who occasionally preached to them was Dr. Bolles; and on Nov. 30, 1804, he received an invitation to be with them, in the capacity of a pastor, until a church should be organized. Contrary to the advice of Dr. Stillman, who, conscious of the decay of advancing years, had seriously thought of his young pupil, as a colleague, Dr. B. accepted the invitation. The church was constituted, Dec. 24, 1804, and Dr. B. ordained as pastor of it, Jan. 9, 1805. He continued to sustain that relation for 22 years, during which he was universally beloved and esteemed, and the church prospered abundantly under his labors. At the end of that period, the seat of the operations of the Baptist General Convention, having been removed from Philadelphia to Boston, Dr. B., who had long been distinguished for his efficient interest in the cause of foreign missions, was elected to the responsible office of Corresponding Secretary. This office he held till Sept. 1842, a period of 15 years; when the growing infirmities of age, and a feeble and broken constitution, compelled him to resign his important trust. He continued, however, to visit the Missionary Rooms, as often as his health would permit, until his last protracted illness confined him entirely to his house. In his relation to the missionary cause, his uncommon prudence, rare foresight and caution, and humble dependence on God, made him a most useful laborer. The

denomination, and the cause of learning and religion, have lost, in his death, an efficient helper. He died, Jan. 5, 1844, and, without doubt, entered into the joy of his Lord.

2. *Ecclesiastes Anglicanus: Being a treatise on preaching, as adapted to a Church-of-England congregation, in a series of letters to a young clergyman.* By Rev. W. GRESLEY. New York. Appleton & Co. pp. 340. 12mo.

We cannot but regard with favor every effort to add to the efficiency and usefulness of the Christian ministry. The sacred office needs the service of scribes, "well instructed unto the kingdom of God." He who is made the instrument of the conversion of one sinner, sends a thrill of triumph through the host of the saints on earth, and of joy through the choirs of the redeemed in heaven. But he who is instrumental in training, to the most efficient use of their powers, "able ministers of the New Testament," though his influence be an indirect one, opens new channels of piety, refreshes and invigorates the church, and calls out recruits for the sacramental host, far beyond the reach of his own voice. His influence lives after he is dead, re-appearing in successive generations, and still blessing and saving souls. Thus it is that the office of a teacher of theology, though it takes a man away from the direct performance of the duties of the ministry, may put him in the front rank of efficiency and usefulness, as a servant of God, set apart to the work of disseminating the gospel. The book of Mr. Gresley is designed to add to the power of the ministry. As its title indicates, it has special reference to the clergy of the Church-of-England; and one or two chapters of the work are, therefore, conformed to English customs and methods. But the rest is as well suited to any other longitude and latitude, as to the longitude and latitude of Greenwich, being an excellent treatise on preaching. It embraces the composition and delivery of a discourse. In thirty-three letters, it discusses all the points which belong to such a treatise. Without the extreme polish manifested in the style of Dr. Porter, in his 'Lectures on Preaching,' there is a somewhat greater variety of topics, and more serious earnestness, more of the heart of the minister still in the midst of his work, more of the power of a moving eloquence, which can speak through a book, as clearly as by the living voice. If there is less of the scholar, there is more of the minister. We cannot do otherwise than commend the volume to those whom it especially concerns, with the confidence that it will be read both with pleasure and profit.

3. *Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked.* With Notes by H. B. HACKETT, Prof. of Bib. Lit. in the Newton Theological Institution. Andover. Allen, Morrill & Wardwell. 1844. pp. 172. 12mo.

Plutarch, the author of this treatise, is supposed to have been born A. D. 40, and died, about eighty years of age, A. D. 120. He flourished, therefore, in the latter part of the first, and the beginning of the second century of the Christian era. At some of the places where he resided, it is known that there were Christians at this period. But, so far as can be gathered from his remaining works, he was ignorant alike of the Christians, and of the Jewish writings. The present work exhibits the interesting spectacle of a heathen, defending the plan of

administration of Jehovah. His method is precisely that which might be expected of a devout Christian. Prof. Hackett remarks, in the preface, of the considerations presented by Plutarch, that they "evinced an elevation of views, a depth and soundness of moral feeling, to which I know of no parallel in any work of pagan antiquity. I am not aware, indeed, that even Christian writers, who have attempted to defend the same truth, within the same limits of natural religion, have been able to do any thing better, than to re-affirm his positions, and perhaps amplify and illustrate somewhat his arguments."

The object of Prof. Hackett in bringing out this volume, in its present attractive shape, is to encourage and aid, especially the theological student, in the continued pursuit of Greek literature. To 46 pages of Greek text, he has appended a very clear and logical analysis of the treatise, and 88 pages of notes. The numerous comparisons of Plutarch's sentiments and expressions with those of the New Testament, give the work a peculiar adaptation to the class for whom it was designed, and render it eminently worthy of the name of a Christian edition. It is an honor to the extensive research and accurate scholarship of Prof. H. We hope so beautiful and appropriate a book will tempt our young divines and others, to revive their familiarity with other Greek, in addition to that of the New Testament, whose illumination, as in the present case, shall, at the same time, awaken deeper sympathy with the pagan, feeling after the truth, and shed new light on the word of God.

4. *Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Bible.* 2 vols. royal 8vo. New-York. Robert Carter. Boston. Tappan & Dennet. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. Price \$3 50.

Horne's Introduction has been so well known, at least to the theological community, for many years, that it is unnecessary for us to describe it, or to write an additional recommendation. While it is deficient in much which the profound and ceaseless discoveries of the German students have added, since it was written, to our Biblical knowledge, it must be confessed that it brings together a large amount of valuable information, interesting not only to the divine, but to the general reader. The present cheap edition puts it within the reach of the Sabbath school teacher and of the Christian family in moderate circumstances; and they may be assured that it will prove a treasury of Biblical instruction, which they will richly enjoy.

5. *The Trial of the Pope of Rome, the Antichrist, or Man of Sin, described in the Bible, for High Treason against the Son of God.* Tried at the Sessions-House of Truth, before the Rt. Hon. Divine Revelation, the Hon. Justice Reason, and the Hon. Justice History. Taken in short-hand, by a Friend to St. Peter. Second American Edition. Boston. Tappan & Dennet. 1844. 24mo. pp. 176.

This work was first published in Dublin, Ireland. A short extract from the preface will give a sufficient idea of its plan and contents.— "The Pope is charged with high treason against the King of heaven, for usurping his supremacy, dignified titles, power, etc. The indictment goes as far back as the year 606, when he first was acknowledged as the universal bishop; and some of the principal circumstances recorded in history from that time to the present are brought forward to support

the charge. The form of a State trial is almost, if not altogether, constantly attended to ; and such legal phrases used, as to keep up the idea of a court of justice. The Pope being acknowledged by Catholics as the head of the church, and supposed always to exist, he is arraigned as such by various names ; so that when one dies, it is only supposed that he changes his name. The witnesses, of course, are always considered to be alive, and martyrs who were burnt to ashes, or otherwise put to death, are supposed to be delivered. It is designed to be an abridgement of ecclesiastical history, and to confirm the testimony of Scripture." The plan of the author is well executed. The spirited style and ingenuity of the book attracts the reader; and the manner in which various historical matters are introduced is such as to impress them upon the memory.

6. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee.* Translated from the Latin of William Gesenius, by EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D., Prof. of Bib. Lit. in the Union Theol. Seminary, New-York. A new edition, with corrections and large additions, partly furnished by the author in manuscript, and partly condensed from his larger Thesaurus. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 1844. pp. 1144. 8vo.

Works on philology can exhibit, in their highest character, merely an approximation to excellence ; and hence a succession in the books which we use here becomes inevitable, so long as the studies to which they relate continue to be prosecuted. One might think, perhaps, there would be less necessity for this in Hebrew, because the materials of the language are already fixed, and are so limited in their extent ; but in fact, this very poverty of the language, so far as regards the number of its words, widens greatly the field of labor in some other respects, since it diminishes our means for ascertaining with certainty the meaning of terms, and renders a resort to other dialects and foreign sources of illustration indispensable. It should be recollected, too, that there is no range of study where so much depends upon a practised judgment, as in philology. An individual who has pursued the study of a particular language for a long period, acquires, at length, in his experience alone, a sort of new faculty as it were, an appreciation of idioms and niceties of speech, a *Sprachgefühl*, as the Germans term it, which he could not possibly possess at an earlier stage of his labors, and which, while it enables him to make important new discoveries, will lead him to correct many of his previous views as immature, partial and false.

No one, therefore, conversant at all with studies of this nature, will be surprised at the appearance of the present work ; and no scholar surely will be willing to be ignorant of these last results of a Hebraist like Gesenius, which deliver to us his conclusions, now that he is no longer living, in their final form, and which are to remain, henceforth, as the products of his ripest experience and scholarship. The difference between this and the preceding edition of his Lexicon cannot, of course, be so great as those which exist between the latter and some of his earlier works. Who that knows the use which is now made of the Indo-Germanic languages, in almost every branch of philology, and the use which Gesenius himself has made of them in his later publications, will credit the fact that in his *Lehrgebäude* (1817), he appears as yet an almost entire stranger to this source of illustration, and in his whole

work, it is said, has recognized an analogy between the Hebrew and these languages merely in some twelve or twenty words! It was impossible that there should remain any such chasm as this to be filled up between the last and present editions of the Lexicon; but there could not but be important room still left for giving greater precision and fulness to the work; and we have here, accordingly, the author's last attempt to supply this deficiency.

The translator has given the following as the history of the present undertaking:—

“When it became necessary to prepare for a new edition of the present work, Gesenius wrote, proposing to furnish his own corrections and additions, made during an interval of several years, while carrying at least four *fasciculi* of his Thesaurus through the press. The arrangement was entered into; and the corrected copy of the first 384 pages of the Latin Manual, extending to the end of the letter *Heth*, (ח) was transmitted in April, 1842. It was a transcript of his own copy, prepared for a new edition of the same work, which he expected to put to press near the close of the same year. The portion sent covers nearly the whole of the first two *fasciculi* of the Thesaurus, which were completed in 1827 and 1835; and comprises all his emendations to those two earliest parts of his great work. With these, his own revision of the Manual ceased. The remainder of the copy was received after his death. It contains, however, for the most part, only short hints and references, noted down by the Author for future use; but not wrought out by him, and incorporated into the work. The labor, therefore, devolved upon the Translator, of carrying out the remainder of the Lexicon in the same spirit, by conforming it to the latest views of the Author, as exhibited in the Thesaurus. Under these circumstances, it is a gratifying fact, that the Author was spared to revise just those earliest portions of the work, which stood most in need of correction, and as to which there is no printed record of his latest views; while, in the remaining portion, the Translator had only to follow those Parts of the Thesaurus which have recently appeared, and of course require comparatively very little correction. His effort has been to make the new edition a condensed copy of that great work; and it will perhaps be found, that this conformity is most complete in those portions not revised by the Author himself. A large number of the articles, especially the most important, had to be entirely re-written.”

The reader, who would judge, in a few examples, of the nature and extent of the changes which have been made, can compare, in the two editions, the articles *מְנוּחָה*, *מַעַל*, *מָה*, *מָצָא*, *מָרַר*, etc. etc. The value of the alterations, however, is not to be estimated merely by the space which they occupy. An improvement in the order and development of the significations, or the discovery of a new primary meaning or a better etymology, will be found frequently occurring, which are to be reckoned among the most important changes. Thus, in assigning to *שָׁאַל* as its ground-sense to *dig, excavate*, instead of assuming two words as in the old edition, one with the signification just mentioned, and another meaning to *ask, demand*, we avoid the necessity of an arbitrary multiplication of the roots, and obtain a much more satisfactory derivation of *שָׁאַל* than has been heretofore assigned to it. The additions of an

archæological and geographical character are also numerous and valuable. The "Researches in Palestine" by Messrs. Robinson and Smith, have here been laid under contribution, and wrought more or less fully into all the leading articles which relate to the geography of the Hebrews. The translator, in a very few instances, has inserted remarks of his own, sometimes in the way of exception and correction, as on p.148, where the point, however, is merely philological. Why, in a proper way and with a just exhibition of the grounds of dissent, should not this be done to a much greater extent, especially in cases which involve the interpretation of important passages of Scripture, which, there may be reason to suppose, have been put in a mistaken or false light? None among us, we presume, would claim for Gesenius an infallibility, or an exemption from those sympathies and antipathies to which other men are liable, and which may bias even a mind of general fairness and candor. The remarks on the *Hithpaël* of *פָּרַךְ* we venture to adduce, as furnishing evidence of the possibility of such prejudice, and are sorry to see them re-asserted here, without modification, as in the former edition. On a question which concerns the meaning of a Hebrew word or phrase, we think it as safe to follow Paul, himself a Hebrew of the Hebrews and brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, as Jarchi, Le Clerc, or any modern critic.

7. *Simcoe's Military Journal*. A History of a Partisan Corps, called the Queen's Rangers, commanded by Lieut. Col. J. Simcoe, during the War of the American Revolution. Illustrated by ten engraved Plans of action. pp. 328. 8vo. New-York. Bartlett & Welford. 1844.

This work, it is said, has escaped the attention of all the historians of the American Revolution. It was originally printed privately by the author in 1787, for a few of his personal friends. Only 50 copies were struck off and distributed at that time, and the work, until now, has been unknown. The account of an eye-witness to the scenes of that eventful period cannot do otherwise than awaken interest and command attention. We are informed that the publishers have printed 25 copies in folio, only half of which remain unsold. Not having had opportunity to read the work, we are unable to say what amount of new information it contains.

8. *Remarks on the Book of Daniel, in regard to the four kingdoms; especially the fourth; the "2300 days;" the seventy weeks; and the events predicted in the last three chapters.* By IRAH CHASE, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Newton Theological Institution.

We are glad to see this valuable contribution to the study of the book of Daniel, in its present form. The substance of it, it will be recollected, appeared first in the pages of this Review; and was received at the time with great favor and interest, which, we have no doubt, will still attend it in the wider sphere of circulation to which it is here introduced. We speak advisedly in saying, that it has already done a useful work in the influence which it has exerted in checking a most unhappy and widespread delusion. And, although the excitement which may have been the more immediate cause of its publication, is fast passing away, at least in this part of the country, it is still adapted, as an instructive outline of the explanation of a difficult portion of the sacred word, to sub-

serve, permanently and in a high degree, the interests of truth and piety. The task which the writer proposed to himself, manifestly was to compress the materials of his ample subject into the narrowest possible limits; and he has accomplished this object with admirable success. No discerning reader will miss here the evidence of mature and independent study, of unostentatious, but extensive learning, and especially a spirit of candor and charity, which cannot fail to commend itself to many, who, already fixed in other sentiments, would be repelled from a work discussing these topics in the tone of dogmatism, which polemical writers have here too often assumed. These prophecies deserve, at the present moment, more attention than ever. Those who would study them for the first time, instead of going at once to copious, extended commentaries, would do better to commence with some general directory like the present; and, whether conducted by it to all the conclusions of the author or not, they will certainly find it a most valuable assistant to them in their investigations.

9. *Appeal from Tradition to Scripture and Common Sense; or an Answer to the Question, What constitutes the Divine Rule of Faith and Practice.* By GEORGE PECK, D. D. New York. G. Lane and P. P. Sandford. 1844. pp. 472. 12mo.

One of the most striking features of the religious world, at the present moment, is the unusual zeal of the discussion on church-polity. Never, probably, since the days of the English Nonconformists, has the war of ecclesiastical principles been waged with such unwearied diligence; or Catholics and Churchmen maintained their points with such uncompromising firmness. Accidental circumstances have made the city of New York the focus of this discussion; but it is impossible that an ecclesiastical war should be limited, in this country, by any geographical bounds. Religious parties are widely diffused; abettors of the principles of the spiritual gladiators who have come forth upon the arena, and members of the several denominations concerned, are to be found not only in the cities and large towns, but almost in every village. At the same time, the instruments of combating error and establishing truth, are to be met with, chiefly, in those communities where there are good public libraries. Arguments, particularly historical arguments, of great value, are to be found in works of ponderous size and of ancient date, which other ages have suffered to slumber; but the new necessities of the present demand that they should be brought to light. And the works containing such arguments, are not brought, from the nature of the case, to every man's hand. The great topics in discussion, moreover, divide themselves into several departments, each of which is sufficient to occupy the studies of a single individual, for its complete elucidation. The subject of tradition is one which covers a wide field, and is intimately connected with the great points now in debate. The question in most ecclesiastical strifes is, Scripture, or, tradition? Of the subject of tradition, Dr. Peck, in this treatise, has taken a strong hold. He has shown, by clear reasoning, confirmed by numerous quotations from the fathers, and from the early and later writers of the English church, that tradition is both an insufficient and an unsafe guide; that it does not show apostolical authority for usages which, on the ground of a supposed tradition, are commonly thought to be apostolical institutions; that its statements are contradictory; what it affirms at one period, it denies at another; that it is often at variance with Scripture; that it has been rejected by some of the best men and highest authorities; and, finally, that the texts in the

New Testament which are cited in support of it, seem to favor its authority, only because they are misinterpreted. The work shows diligent study, extensive research, a thorough acquaintance with the Greek and Latin fathers, and with the Anglican-church writers, whose names are most highly venerated. It is a performance of sterling merit, and of invaluable worth, in reference to many of the ecclesiastical errors of the present day.

10. *The Acts of the Apostles; with Notes, chiefly explanatory. Designed for teachers in Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes, and as an aid to Family Instruction.* By HENRY J. RIPLEY, Professor in the Newton Theological Institution. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1844. pp. 334. 12mo.

Prof. Ripley's Notes on the Gospels have been before the public several years, and have won for themselves the verdict of universal approbation. The sentence of the present age will, doubtless, be the sentence of posterity also. We are glad to welcome this new volume of commentary from the same pen. It is written on the same principles, in the same general manner, with the same clearness, and the manifestation of the same piety, which marked its predecessor. We could not do better than to copy some of the commendations bestowed upon the Notes on the Gospels, as equally applicable to the volume before us. Let the following, from the Biblical Repository, suffice: "There are three things in these Notes, which have given us much satisfaction; first, the kind and catholic spirit every where manifest; secondly, the labor is bestowed upon the really difficult texts; thirdly, the practical reflections are few and to the point."

11. *Golden Gems for the Christian; selected from the justly admired writings of Rev. JOHN FLAVEL, with a Memoir of the Author.* By Rev. J. BANVARD. Salem. John P. Jewett. 1843. pp. 141. 32mo.

This is a book of the miniature size, richly bound. It is a good token of the extent of the religious spirit in the community, that gift-books of so high a spiritual tone as these volumes, are sufficiently appreciated to encourage the booksellers to publish them. The interior of the Golden Gems is less beautiful than that of the Boston books of the same class; but the selections by Mr. Banvard are very happy, exhibiting the true spirit and fervent piety of Flavel. The works of that eminent man are so well known, that a selection of choice fragments from them needs no encomium.

12. *Church Discipline; an Exposition of the Scripture Doctrine of Church Order and Government.* By WARHAM WALKER, Homer, N. Y. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. pp. 156. 24mo. 1844.

The scriptural method in which the author of this treatise proceeds, entitles his book to a favorable consideration. As churches are of divine institution, and the laws by which they are governed, of divine enactment, it follows that the Scriptures are the proper source of appeal on this whole subject. The work comes to us, sanctioned by the imprimatur of the Cortland Baptist Association, to which the writer belongs, and has already received the commendation of high authorities. The topic is one which it is wrong not to understand. The present book will aid the inexperienced, in the attainment of sound opinions and correct practice.

13. *The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.* By ANDREWS NORTON. Cambridge. J. Owen. 1844. Vols. II and III. pp.478,404.

There is a common track of argument on the Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, into which most writers fall, and an independent and higher track, little known and rarely attempted. Perhaps it is well that the latter is seldom attempted, as it appeals to the learned, and not to the people generally. That which addresses the common mind should be clear, simple, and easy to be understood, not dealing too much in philosophical speculations, or nice distinctions; nor travelling out of the path of argument, in which it may be anticipated that the common mind will consent to accompany the writer. The work of Prof. Norton pursues an independent track, thus throwing new light on the genuineness of the Gospels, and pressing error itself into the cause of truth. He attempts to show the genuineness of the gospels from intimations existing in the early Gnostic heresy,—the topic of Vols. II and III, of this series. In accomplishing his work, he gives a very minute account of the Gnostics, their origin, history, philosophy, opinions, etc., thus furnishing an important and valuable contribution to ecclesiastical history.

We have no disposition, however, to endorse all that Prof. Norton has written in these volumes. We could not do it, as we conceive, without renouncing our Christianity. Some of his statements militate so directly against the fundamental doctrine of inspiration, that to accept the former would be to deny the latter. The series of Notes on the Old Testament (Vol. II, pp. 48—200) not only set at nought the received opinions of the largest portion of the Christian world, but also the direct assertions of Christ and the apostles. We cannot believe that Unitarianism, in this country, has come to such a pass, that it will willingly accede to these views. Some of the grounds taken by Prof. Norton are, that the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses, and that it does not belong to the early age in which it professes to have been written; that the statements of the writers of the Old Testament are not to be relied on, in all cases, as true; that some of their accounts are to be disbelieved, because they may seem to us improbable; that some of the miracles are not to be credited, and that it is an error to represent “the books of the Old Testament as of divine origin and authority, or, in other words, as constituting an essential part of a revelation from God;” that “there is nothing in the character of the Jewish historians to qualify them to be guides in religion or morals. On these subjects, they shared in the rude and erroneous notions of their countrymen, which were far in advance of those of the heathen world, but far behind those of an enlightened Christian. We are not called upon to adopt their moral judgments, express or implied, respecting characters or actions. Nor is it improbable that they, or the early relators whom they followed, were influenced in their representations by personal or party prejudices.” He suggests, as insuperable objections to the divine authority of the books of Moses, that they teach an erroneous theory of astronomy; that it is incredible that the number of the Israelites, at the time of their leaving Egypt, could have been so great as is stated in the history; that they could not have had so much wealth as they seem to have carried away, or the means of transporting it; that they could not have found pasturage or water for their cattle and flocks, during their wanderings in the desert; and that it is incredible, if they had such wealth of cattle, that they should have longed for flesh in vain, and to such a degree, until God sent them quails to satisfy their appetite. He also complains that when God appeared with solemn pomp before the people or their elders, his

communications are "trivial. So wholly unconnected are they with any moral or religious sentiment, or any truth, important or unimportant,—except the melancholy fact of their having been regarded as a divine communication,—that it requires a strong effort to read through with attention these pretended words of the Infinite Being."

Prof. N. remarks, that "there is no historical evidence which justifies us in believing, that what assumes to be a second epistle of Peter, and that which has been ascribed to the apostle Jude, were the works of those authors; and the character and contents of the writings are unfavorable to the supposition. . . It seems to me most probable, that they were composed in the first half of the second century, under the names of those apostles; and that the writer of each assumed a character not his own, rather by way of rhetorical artifice, than with intentional fraud." Prof. N. seems to us, also, exceedingly unfair in some of his representations. For example, he says (Vol. III, pp. 189, 190), in remarking on the doctrine of inspiration, "The words contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, being regarded as the words not of men but of God, the rational principles of interpretation, which would apply to them as the words of men, have been set aside. These principles would lead us to study the respective characters of the authors of those books, and the various influences which were acting upon them, and to make ourselves acquainted with the particular occasion and purpose of their different writings, and with the characters, circumstances, opinions, errors, and modes of expression of those for whom their writings were immediately intended; and when we had thus enabled ourselves, as far as possible, to sympathize with them, we should determine their meaning with a constant regard to the considerations which we had thus grouped together. But such knowledge is foreign from the purpose, if the books to be explained are not properly the works of human authors. It has, accordingly, been disregarded. The essential elements and rules of a correct interpretation have been neglected; and the work of explaining the Scriptures has been denied to reason and judgment, and delivered over to men's preconceptions, caprices, imaginations, and spiritual discernment." So far as these remarks are meant for those who maintain what is commonly understood by the evangelical system of theology, we may point, for their utter refutation, to the constant teachings of our theological schools, and to the manuals perpetually used in them, and issuing from them.

While we highly respect the talent and learning of Prof. N., we must say, that we cannot see in what respects his theory is better than that of Mr. Parker. And though he would not descend to Mr. Paine's meanness and vulgarity, some of his objections to the Old Testament Scriptures are the very same which are set forth in the "Age of Reason." Doubtless a wise Providence has permitted these developments to be made from the high places of Unitarianism. Our prayer is, that exhibitions so unscriptural, so unphilosophical, and, to the humble Christian, so alarming, may result in good. It is a glorious truth that the infinite Jehovah often makes that which seems fraught with disastrous consequences, the occasion of the bright displays of his healing strength.

The History of Opinions is one of the most interesting and extensive, in the whole circle of theological literature. It exhibits, at the same time, the strange vagaries into which the human mind, in different ages, has run, the gradual development of erroneous systems, the influence of philosophy, theology, intellectual advancement, and the character of successive ages, each upon the other, and the paramount necessity of cleaving to the simple word of God,—not as a scientific book, fitted only

for the learned, but as a plain record of truth, appealing equally to the illiterate and the learned, the high and the low. Of the opinions which modified the Christianity of the first five or six centuries, Gnosticism, probably, exerted a wider influence than any other. As it was the earliest heresy, so it lasted the longest, and interwove its subtleties most thoroughly with the philosophy and religion of the primitive church. The work of Prof. Norton, in connection with the recent French work by Maller, announced in our literary intelligence, will be an acceptable offering to the student who finds time to pursue so interesting and prolific a topic;—the one, presenting the subject generally; the other, its application to a particular department of theological research.

14. *A Church without a Bishop. The Apostolical and Primitive Church, Popular in its Government and Simple in its Worship.* By LYMAN COLEMAN. With an Introductory Essay, by Dr. NEANDER. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. pp. 432. 12mo. 1844.

This work is one which will attract much attention, and serve as the storehouse of argument and authority on the subject of which it treats, for a long while to come. It abundantly redeems the promise of the title-page. The various parts are stated with great clearness, and every material point is sustained by the confirmation of the fathers. While the book is one of great value in reference to the controversy on church-polity, it contains, also, much information relating to the organization and worship of the early churches, which will make it acceptable to the general reader. Such are the chapters on the prayers and psalmody of the primitive church, the use of homilies, and the benediction. The Indexes are very full, which is a most important consideration in a work which will be used, more or less, as a book of reference. It is peculiarly timely at the present moment. We insert a list of its principal contents, for the purpose of sharpening the appetite of those who may not immediately have opportunity to peruse the work itself: "The Primitive Churches formed after the model of the Jewish Synagogue; Independence of the Primitive Churches. Elections by the Churches,—Mode of admission. Usurpation of discipline by the priesthood. Remarks on discipline by the churches. Equality and Identity of Bishops and Presbyters. Their titles used interchangeably. Their qualifications required to be the same. Their duties the same. Presbyterian ordination. James not bishop of Jerusalem. Timothy not bishop of Ephesus. Titus not bishop of Crete. The angels of the churches in the Apocalypse not bishops. Presbyters and bishops designated by the same names in the early fathers. Presbyterian ordination, in ancient history. Validity of it conceded by the English Reformers. Primitive bishops merely parish ministers. Parochial Episcopacy. Bearings of it upon prelacy. Equality of bishops and presbyters conceded, down to the time of the Reformation. Remarks on the primitive and popular government of the churches. Rise of Episcopacy. Ascendency of the churches in the cities over those in the country. Reasons for this ascendency. Superiority of bishops in cities over those of the country. The Diocesan Government. Means of its development. Its results. The Metropolitan Government. Means of its establishment. Results of the system upon the laity. Results upon the clergy. State of religion under the hierarchy. The Patriarchal and the Papal Government. Remarks on ancient prelacy. Prayers of the Primitive Church. The use of forms of prayer, opposed to the spirit of the Christian dispensation. Opposed to the example of Christ and the

apostles. The Lord's prayer not a form. Forms of prayer opposed to the freedom of primitive worship. Unknown in the primitive church. Remarks on liturgies. Psalmody of the Primitive Church. Homilies in the Primitive Church. Discourses of Christ and the apostles. Scriptural exposition. Homilies in the Greek church. Homilies in the Latin church. Episcopacy an incumbrance to the preacher. The Benediction.

15. *A Grammar of the Greek Language.* Part First. A practical Grammar of the Attic and Common Dialects, with the elements of General Grammar. By ALPHEUS CROSBY, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Dartmouth College. Boston. James Monroe & Company. 1844. pp. 488. 12mo.

A Narrative of the Expedition of Cyrus the Younger, and of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. By Xenophon of Athens. Edited by ALPHEUS CROSBY, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Dartmouth College. Boston. James Monroe & Company. 1844.

The Æneid of Virgil, with English Notes, critical and explanatory, a Metrical Clavis, and an Historical, Geographical and Mythological Index. By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D. Harpers. New-York. 1843. pp. 942. 12mo.

The present volumes are additional testimonies to the fact which we have already remarked, that one of the characteristics of the times is an increasing attention to classical literature. Experiments and improvements, in every branch of science and the arts, mark the energy and enterprise of our citizens. The universal activity of business men, the rush of occupation, the tide of prosperity, instead of checking, seem to help, the efforts of cultivated mind. While an impulsive force presses forward the affairs of the world, and the commercial and artizan power of the community is constantly increasing, a similar force, acting on the minds of the learned, is providing for the most successful prosecution of liberal studies, and opening the way for the highest attainments before those, whom genius or circumstances have allured into the paths of literature. This is highly auspicious to the interests of our country. Mere external prosperity would soon lead to luxury, and result in our downfall. A disturbance of the proper balance of mental and physical advancement, at least, if it were such as to give to the latter a heavy preponderance, would be a universal disaster. It is only in the harmonious development of our outward and inward resources, in the effort for the cultivation of the intellect and the heart, keeping pace with our cultivation in other respects, that we can anticipate lasting prosperity. The number of works pertaining to classical literature that have issued, of late, from the American press, is certainly very creditable to us, as a people; especially, when it is seen, on examination, that many of them, instead of being mere reprints of European editions, are the results of independent criticism.

The edition of Xenophon's *Anabasis* before us is printed on a large, clear type, from the text of Dindorf, and without notes. As a substitute for Notes, the Appendix contains a list of some hundreds of references to the Author's Grammar, pointing out rules and remarks in which the passages are explained, or the principles involved in them, elucidated. By this scheme, the pupil who is possessed of the Grammar is constantly compelled to consult it, and has the advantage of seeing rules laid down, which apply to any number of similar cases. The Commentator, also, is spared the labor of frequently repeating what may as well be said once for all. The utility of the edition, however, is, in

some degree, limited to those who make use of the Author's Grammar. Prof. Crosby announces that he has "in preparation a 'Companion to the Anabasis,' designed to contain a map, a life of the author, a vocabulary, notes, and exercises in translation from English into Greek."

The Grammar is a larger and more laborious work. It "is designed to contain, the elements of general grammar, the rules of Greek grammar, so far as they apply to the Attic and common dialects, and a series of tables illustrative of Greek inflection." Prof. Crosby proposes to follow up the present work by a Grammar of Dialectic Greek, and, as a companion to it, an edition of the Odyssey. The present Grammar is fitted for those who wish to study the Greek without any previous acquaintance with the grammar either of the Latin or of any other language. It is a very full treatise, apparently answering every question which would be likely to arise. It embraces the whole substance of what is commonly found in school grammars, and much more, which is usually confined to the grammars used for occasional reference. The chapter on Greek accents is the most intelligible account of them which we remember to have seen. The statements, generally, are very clear, and the whole is adapted to the present advanced stage of Greek grammar. Still, almost every thing is on a different plan from that to which the students of Greek a few years ago were accustomed; and it must cost them a serious effort so far to break away from old associations, as to learn Greek from this manual anew. There are none, however, who may not reap advantage from it as a book of reference. Young scholars, studying the language for the first time, will obtain from it, with patience, a more thorough and accurate knowledge than from any other work of the kind with which we are acquainted. Prof. Crosby has secured to himself, by this effort, an honorable rank among the scholars of our country, and given rich promises which, we doubt not, he will fully redeem.

The Virgil of Prof. Anthon is beautifully printed. For printing and binding, it is a true model for a school-book. It seems to us, however, that the student has quite too much help in the profuse Notes. While there are only 283 pages of the text, the Notes extend to 597. Such abundant aid could only be required by a very young scholar. And a very young scholar, instead of enjoying the beauties of his author, will only read his prescribed task as a mere drudgery, whatever amount of help he receives. The path to knowledge may be too easy, as well as too forbidding. If no opportunity is left for the mind to reason, and discriminate, and decide, to find its way through difficulties, and to solve hard questions by personal effort, what discipline will be acquired, even by the study of classical literature? We seriously fear that this laudable endeavor to illustrate the *Æneid*, instead of making better scholars, will only make weak ones, who, unless they should obtain strength by subsequent efforts, will never be able to walk alone. The relation of an editor to his reader is such that he should seem to say, not only—"I am a scholar," but, "I am going to make you a scholar also."

16. *Uebersetzung und Auslegung der Psalmen, für Geistliche und Laien der christlichen Kirche.* Von Dr. A. THOLUCK. Halle. 1843. S. 574.
Translation and Interpretation of the Psalms, for Clergy and Laity of the Christian Church. By Dr. A. THOLUCK. pp. 574.

Many readers of this work, we apprehend, would be disappointed in its character, not perhaps that it fails to fulfil any just expectation, but because it is so difficult for us to take, in all respects, the position of a foreign writer, and to judge of his labors with a proper regard to the

objects which he may have had in view. This professes to be a practical rather than a critical commentary; but while it disclaims all pretensions to the latter character, certainly in the German sense of the expression, one must not be surprised if he finds that it does not correspond at all to our English idea of a practical exposition of the Scriptures. The Introduction is admirable, and forms in our judgment the most valuable part of the book. It is less statistical and critical than that of De Wette; but while it is sufficiently copious and literary for all necessary purposes, it is vastly superior to it in the interest with which the author has invested the topics which he discusses, and in the more ample and satisfactory manner in which he meets those various inquiries of a more theological and religious nature, which are connected with the study of the Psalms. He treats here (1.) of the use of the Psalter in the Christian Church, from the earliest times to the present, the estimation in which it has been held, and the importance which eminent Christians of every age have attached to it. (2.) The form, division, object and use of the Psalter, under the Old Testament dispensation, and especially the place which it occupied in the arrangements for public worship established by David. (3.) The authors of the Psalms. In this section we have a sketch of the history of David, with reference more particularly to the light which may be reflected thence upon the origin and interpretation of these sacred songs. (4.) The system of doctrine and morality taught in the Psalms. Here we have an instructive summary of the views which the writers entertained of God and his government of the world, of man and sin, of the nature of piety, of the future life and the Messiah. It will be seen at once that these are the topics, which every Christian student must regard as of the greatest moment in the interpretation of the Psalms, and in relation to which he cannot but be interested to know the opinions, and the results of the study, of such a man as Tholuck.

The work contains a translation of each Psalm, arranged in the metrical form, upon the basis of that of Luther, with deviations only when the sense of the original seemed to require it. An attempt is made, in the exposition which then follows, to fix as far as possible the precise historical occasion of the Psalms, and thus to gain a position which will enable the interpreter to give greater individuality and definiteness to their contents. For this purpose, the author assumes, in most cases, the genuineness of the titles, and denies the justness of the view which would separate them from the text, and leave them entirely out of the account, as a means of settling the time and authorship of these compositions. The extent, to which he has applied this historical mode of explanation, is much greater than has been usually attempted, and imparts to the work one of its most peculiar features. The critical element is thrown into the back ground in a surprising degree, for a commentary from a German author. Entire Psalms are not unfrequently disposed of with scarcely a remark upon a single Hebrew word. The student, therefore, could not, obviously, rely upon it as his only guide. He would be obliged to supply this deficiency by using, in connection with it, some other work, as that of Maurer, Rosenmüller, or, which is better still, that of Hengstenberg, which appeared almost simultaneously with this, and of which, we are pleased to learn, there is the prospect of a translation.

The study of the Psalms must ever be one of the most delightful, as it is, in some respects, difficult labors of the Christian student. It is one of those portions of the sacred Word, which, if unable to extend his

studies over the whole ground, he should resolve to make the subject of special attention, and to content himself with nothing less than the full mastery of its contents and criticism. The appearance of the present work is a fresh summons to this labor. We are sure, no one can use it, whether he agrees with the author in all his principles of interpretation and the details of his views or not, without conceiving a higher opinion of his many well known, admirable qualifications as a Biblical critic, and without experiencing his uncommon power to infuse his own spirit, interest and ardor into the minds of his readers.

ARTICLE X.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICA.

A work is about to be put to press in Boston, entitled, "The Ciceronian, or the Prussian method of Teaching Latin;" adapted to the use of American schools, by Professor Sears.—We see announced in New York, a History of Oregon, and the adjacent parts of the North American continent.—A Memoir of the late Noah Worcester, the author of "Bible News," partly prepared by the late Dr. Ware, Jr., is completed by a member of Mr. Worcester's family, and will soon be published.—Materials are also accumulating for a Memoir of Dr. Channing.—A Memoir of Dr. Ware, Jr., is also in preparation.—Two firms, one in New York and the other in Philadelphia, have undertaken the republication, in monthly parts, of the Commentary on the Bible, by Lowth, Patrick, Arnold and other eminent divines. The work, in England, has been highly esteemed.—Mr. Rufus W. Griswold, of Philadelphia, has in preparation a companion to his Poetry and Poets of America, entitled "Poets and Poetry of England in the nineteenth century, with an Essay on the progress of poetry, and critical and biographical notices." The volume will contain selections from about one hundred different writers.—Mr. Prescott has in hand another work, which will occupy him for some months, to be entitled, "History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru."

A new quarterly appeared in Philadelphia in January, entitled, "The Quarterly Review of the American Protestant Association. Edited by Rufus W. Griswold. "Its object is to expose the errors of Romanism, and to put the American people on their guard against Jesuitical influence." The first number contains eleven articles, original and selected. To the general student, and especially in respect to the Romish controversy, they are of great value and interest. The following is the syllabus of the principal contents. The Bible in public schools, by Rev. W. Colton.—Romanism in Europe.—The Miracles and Lying Wonders of Rome.—Tillotson on Transubstantiation.—On the Progress of Popery, and the Duties of the church, by Rev. E. Bickersteth.—The Truth necessarily Protestant, by Rev. H. McNeile.—The Worship of the Virgin and of the popes of Rome, by T. Hartwell Horne.—Testimony of the Reformers against the pope as Antichrist.—The Romish system of Persecution, by George Finch. The present number contains 120 pages, 8vo., printed in double columns.

ENGLAND.

Among new publications about to appear in London, we notice "The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, from the earliest period of the North Sea kings to the middle of the twelfth century. Translated from the Islandic, of Snorre Sturleson." Three volumes, 8vo.—Also, a new translation of Zumpt's Latin Grammar, with the addition of the results of the most recent philological researches. This version is made under the superintendence and authority of Prof. Zumpt, because the existing translation seems both to the author and translator an inadequate representation of the original.

FRANCE.

A work is announced in Paris, written by J. Maller, entitled a Critical History of Gnosticism, and its influence on the philosophy and Christianity of the first six centuries.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

LUCIUS BOLLES, D. D., Boston, Ms., Jan. 5, aged 65.
 S. CARTLEDGE, Edgefield Asso., S. C.
 RICHARD CLARK, Salem, Montgomery Co., O., Jan. 1, aged 42.
 NATHAN CORY, Frankfort, O., Sept. 8, aged 78.
 SAMUEL DUXBURY, Rockport, O., Dec. 17, aged 65.
 ISAAC FULLER, Poultney, Rutland Co., Vt., Aug. 26, aged 72.
 ELIJAH GATES, of Kentucky, Mississippi River, Jan. 3.
 HERMON HERVEY, Durham, N. Y., Jan. 29, aged 60.
 ALFRED HOLMAN, Marshall Co., Mo., Oct. 1.
 RICHARD JONES, Remsen, N. Y., Dec. 9, aged 84.
 LEBBEUS LATHROP, Newmarket, N. J., Nov. 11, aged 70.
 J. H. LINSLEY, Stratford, Ct., Dec. 26.
 GEORGE NORRIS, Princess Anne Co., Va., Nov. 22, aged 72.

ORDINATIONS.

GEORGE W. ALLEN, Georgetown, Ky., Dec. 24.
 MARTIN ATHERTON, Shiloh, Alexander Co., Ill., Aug. 17.
 SIMON BACKUS BAILEY, Noank (Groton), Ct., Nov. 29.
 W. B. BARRIS, Hubbard, O., Nov. 2.
 ALFRED S. BINGHAM, Fort Wayne, Ind., Dec. 18.
 GEORGE R. BLISS, New Brunswick, N. J., Jan. 17.
 JOEL E. BRADLEY, Muncy, Lycoming Co., Pa., Dec. 25.
 S. S. BROWNSON, Charleston, Me., Jan. 16.
 NOAH CLOUSE, Canal Dover, O., Nov. 16.
 A. A. CONNELLA, Marion, Perry Co., Ala.
 A. B. COUCH, Mobile, Ala., Dec. 17.
 CHARLES COX, Elizabethtown, N. J.
 O. L. CRUTTENDEN, Sheridan, Chaut. Co., N. Y., Jan. 3.
 SHERBURNE DEARBORN, Williamstown, Vt.
 JOSEPH H. EATON, Murfreesboro', Tenn., Sept. 10.
 HORACE FLETCHER, Townsend, Vt., Jan. 25.
 MERRILL FORBES, Sodus, Wayne Co., N. Y., Jan. 17.
 JOHN FULTON, Rensselaerville, Albany Co., N. Y., Jan. 10.
 RICHARD HARRIS, Staten Island, N. Y., Oct. 5.
 E. T. HISCOX, North Stonington, Ct., Jan. 19.
 EZEKIEL HOLLAND, Mt. Olive Church, Anson Co., N. C., Sept. 17.
 JOHN JAMES, Fleet Lick, Pulaski Co., Ky., Oct. 23.
 JOSIAH KEELY, Wenham, Ms., Dec. 21.
 WILLIAM LINEBERRY, Rocky River, Chatham Co., N. Y., Dec. 31.
 JAMES E. LOCKWOOD, Longlick, Scott Co., Ky., Dec. 20.
 ALEXANDER R. MACEY, Frankfort, Ky., Jan. 4.
 LEONARD MAYO, Deer Isle, Me., Nov. 22.
 JOHN A. MCKEAN, Baltimore, Md., Nov. 5.
 S. H. MIRICK, Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 15.

W. OSBORNE, Scipio, Cayuga Co., N. Y., Jan. 10.
 ARNOLD F. PALMER, Clinton, Me.
 THOMAS PEARCE, Welsh Neck, S. C., Nov. 13.
 WILLIAM ROLLINSON, Rahway, N. J., Nov. 28.
 LUTHER M. ROSE, London, Mich., Jan. 10.
 JESSE N. SEELY, Davenport, Iowa, Jan. 5.
 Z. SMITH, Tulley, N. Y., Nov. 29.
 FREDERICK SNYDER, Dayton, O., Dec. 3.
 MILON N. STEARNS, Alexander, Licking Co., Ohio, Nov. 10.
 PHINEAS STOW, Danvers, Ms., Dec. 12.
 ELIJAH STURTEVANT, Eaton, Wyoming Co., Pa., Sept. 14.
 J. H. WEEKS, Stamford, Vt., Dec. 13.
 WILLIAM WILBER, Sidney, Me., Nov. 8.
 A. WILLIAMS, Ashtabula, O., Dec. 20.
 JOHN YOUNG, Unity M. H., Monroe Co., O., Feb. 21.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Priceburg, Pa., Aug. 17.
 Near Lewisburgh, Ky., Oct.
 Somerville, N. J., Oct.
 Fabius, St. Joseph's Co., Mich., Oct. 11.
 Baltimore, Md., 5th chh., Oct. 19.
 Pleasant Ridge, Ind., Nov. 2.
 Unionville, Hopkinton, Ms., Nov. 8.
 Bethany, Pittsylvania Co., Va., Nov. 9.
 Gardiner Village, Me., Nov. 10.
 Wilmot Flatt, N. H., Nov. 15.
 Mount Pleasant, Ill., Nov. 22.
 Tarrytown, N. Y., Nov. 22.
 New Castle, Mercer Co., Pa., Nov. 27.
 South Bristol, N. Y., Nov. 30.
 Canton, Madison Co., Miss., Nov.
 Elizabethtown, Ohio.
 Seamen's Bap. Church, New York, Dec. 4.
 Eight Mile Creek, Mobile Co., Ala., Dec. 15.
 Amity, Knox Co., O., Dec. 23.
 Mellevue, Mich., Dec. 29.
 Booneville, Mo., Dec. 31.
 Fayetteville, Va., Dec.
 Mouth of Greenbrier, Va., Dec.
 Lower Sandusky, Sand. Co., O., Jan. 1.
 Clinton, Cass Co., Ind., Jan. 2.
 On Rangle Lake, Me., Jan. 3.
 Rome, Richland Co., O., Jan. 3.
 Lewisburgh, Pa., Jan. 4.
 Fayetteville, Onondaga Co., N. Y., Jan. 10.
 Buffalo, N. Y., 3d church, Feb. 1.

DEDICATIONS.

Ypsilanti, O., Oct. 16.
 Baring, Me., Nov. 1.
 Munnsville, Madison Co., N. Y., Nov. 5.
 Murfreesboro', N. C., Nov. 5.
 Brownsville, Fayette Co., Pa., Nov. 19.
 Ledyard, Ct., Nov. 20.
 Ashford, Ct., 3d church, Nov. 22.
 Newton, Gloucester Co., N. J., Nov. 30.
 Tremont Chapel, Boston, Dec. 7.
 Antwerp, N. Y., Dec. 20.
 Danville, Columbia Co., N. Y., Jan. 4.
 Worcester, Ms., 2d church, Jan. 4.
 Collins, Erie Co., N. Y., Jan. 31.
 Passayunk, Pa., Feb. 4.
 Groton, Ct., 1st. church, Feb. 22.